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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

Thiru. Mayilai Seeni. Venkatasamy establishes that the word 'Tamil' has been used in several Tamil works upto the twelfth century to mean 'Akam', without any association or connotation.

Prof. S. N. Chockalingam pays a reminiscent tribute to the late Tamil Scholar from Russia Dr. Rudin.

Dr. R. Dhandayutham surveys the origin and evolution of the Tamil short story in Malaysia.

The translations of Tolkāppiyam by Dr. Kamil Zvelebil and part of the thesis of Dr. Schiffman are continued from the previous number.

Thiru. K. Murugaiyan describes in detail the articulatory system of Tamil Phonology.

'The Pandyans' by Thiru. J. R. Sinnathamby deals with the observations of the Classical writers on the ancient land of the Pandyas. It is mainly concerned with the relationship between the Pandyan and the Ceylonese royal families.

Thiru. A. Subbiah's article is in response to our invitation for comments and notes on the articles in *Journal of Tamil Studies*. We have, of course, received several other comments too, but the present article alone is in the form of a critical essay and hence its publication. We thank all those who have sent their comments.

CHIEF EDITOR

OBITUARY

The Institute hereby records with great reverence and regrets the demises of Dr. C. Ilakkuvanar M.A., Ph.D., and Dr. S. G. Rudin. On behalf of the Institute and of the *Journal of Tamil Studies* we express our deep sympathies to the members of the bereaved families.

தமிழ்—அகம்

மயிலை சீனி. வேங்கடசாமி

அகப்பொருள்—விளக்கம்

மிகப் பழங்காலத்திலேயே இலக்கியத்தை அகம், புறம் என்று பழந் தமிழ்ச் சான்றோர் வகைப்படுத்தினர். அவற்றுள் அகப்பொருளுக்குச் சிறப்பு மிக்க முதலிடத்தை அவர்கள் கொடுத்தனர். இவ்வுலகில் ஆணும் பெண்ணும் அன்புடன் கூடிக்கலந்து, இன்புடன் இல்லற வாழ்க்கை நடத்துவதையே, அகம் என்று நம்முடைய முன்னோர்கள் போற்றினர். இக்காதல் வாழ்க்கையை அகப்பொருள் இலக்கண நூலார் அன்பின் ஐந்திணை என்பர். இப்பொருள் பற்றிய இலக்கியங்களைப் பண்டைத் தமிழ்ப்புலவர் மிகுதியாக இயற்றியுள் ளனர். தலைவன் தலைவியரின் (காதலன் காதலியரின்) வாழ்க்கையில் நிகழ்கின்ற காதற் செயல்களையும், எழுகின்ற உணர்வுகளையும் தம் கற்பனைத் திறனில் குழைத்து, சிறு சிறு சொல்லோவியங்களாகத் தொன்மைத் தமிழ்ப்புலவர்கள் தீட்டியுள்ளனர். பழைய இலக்கண நூலாகிய தொல்காப்பியம், அகப் பொருள் இலக்கணத்தைச் சிறப்பாக எடுத்தியம்புகிறது. அதற்குப் பிறகு, அகப்பொருள் இலக்கண நூல்கள் சில இயற்றப்பட்டுள்ளன.

அகப்பொருள்துறைச் செய்யுட்களைப் பாடுவதைச் சங்க காலத்துப் புலவர்கள் பெருமையாகக் கருதினர் எனலாம். இதனால், அகப்பொருள் செய் யுட்கள் பழந்தமிழ் இலக்கியத்தில் பெரும்பகுதியாக உள்ளன. அப்பழஞ் செய்யுட்களைத் தொகுத்து அகநானூறு, நற்றிணை நானூறு, குறுந் தொகை நானூறு, ஐங்குறு நூறு, கலித்தொகை என்று புலவர்கள் போற்றிவந்தனர். அந்நூல்கள், நமக்குப் பழம்பேர் இலக்கியச் செல்வங்களாகக் கிடைத்திருக்கின்றன. தமிழ் மக்களின் காதல் உணர்வுகளை யும், எண்ணங்களையும், செய்திகளையும் கலைநயந்தோன்ற எடுத்துரைக்கும் இப்பாடல்கள் யாவும் ஏறத்தாழக் கி.மு. முதல் நூற்றாண்டு முதல் கி.பி. மூன்றாம் நூற்றாண்டுவரையில் இயற்றப்பட்டனவாகும்.

தமிழ்—அகப்பொருள்

தமிழ் என்னும் பெயர், சிறப்பாக அகப்பொருள் இலக்கியத்தைச் சுட்டும் மரபு, நெடுங்காலமாக நம்மிடையே இருந்து வருகிறது. தமிழ் என்பதற்குத் தமிழ்மொழி என்றும், இனிமை என்றும், அழகு என்றும் பொருள் உண்டு. இம்மூவகைப் பொதுப் பொருளோடு, தமிழ் என்னும் சொல்லிற்கு அகப்பொருள் என்னும் சிறப்புப்பொருளும் வழங்கிவருகிறது. சங்க காலத்தில் மட்டுமன்றி, பிற்காலத்திலும் அகப்பொருள் செய்யுளுக்குத் தமிழ் என்னும் பெயர் வழங்கிய மைக்குத் தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களில் சான்றுகள் பல உள்ளன.

ஆரியவரசன் தமிழ் பயின்ற வரலாறு

கி.பி. இரண்டாம் நூற்றாண்டின் முற்பகுதியில் வாழ்ந்த ஆரிய அரசன் பிரகத்தன் (பிருகதத்தன்), தமிழில் அகப்பொருள் செய்யுட்களின் சிறப்பை அறிந்து, அதைப்பற்றி விரிவாகத் தெரிந்துகொள்ள விரும்பினான். அவன் முதலில் தமிழ்மொழியைப் பயின்றான்; பின்னர் அகப்பொருள் துறையையும் அவன் கற்றான். அவனுக்கு அகப்பொருளைக் கற்பித்தவர், அக்காலத்திய புலவர்களுள் சீர்த்திமிக்கவரான கபிலர் என்பவராவர். அவ்வரசனுக்கு அகப்பொருளைக் கற்பிப்பதற்காகவே, கபிலர் குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டை (பெருங் குறிஞ்சியை)ப் பாடினார். அச்செய்யுளின் அடிக்குறிப்பு, 'ஆரியவரசன் பிரகத்தனைத் தமிழ் அறிவித்தற்குப் பாடியது' என்று தெரிவிக்கிறது. இத் தொடர்மொழியில் உள்ள தமிழ் என்னும் சொல் அகப்பொருளையே சுட்டு கிறது. குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு, தமிழ் எழுத்திலக்கணத்தையோ சொல்லிலக்கணத் தையோ கூறவில்லை; அகப்பொருள் இலக்கணத்தின் ஒரு துறையை விளக்கும் இலக்கியமாக விளங்குகிறது.[1]

அகப்பொருளைக் கற்ற பிரகத்தன், தானும் அகப்பொருள் செய்யுட்களைப் பாடினான் எனக்கூறலாம். அவற்றுள் ஒன்று குறுந்தொகையில் 184ஆம் செய்யுளாக இடம் பெற்றிருக்கிறது. அச்செய்யுளின் அடிக்குறிப்பு, 'ஆரிய

வரசன் யாழ்ப் பிரமதத்தன் பாடியது' என்று கூறுகிறது. அகப்பொருளைக் 'கந்தருவ முறை' என்றும், 'யாழோர் முறை'[2] என்றும் கூறுவதுண்டு. யாழோர் முறையைக் கற்றபடியால்—அகப்பொருளைக் கற்றமையால்—இவன் 'யாழ்ப் பிரமதத்தன்' என்னும் சிறப்புப் பெயர் பெற்றான் என்று நாம் கருதலாம்.[3]

முருகன் சுவைத்த தமிழின்பம்

திருப்பரங்குன்றத்து முருகனைப் பரிபாடலின் ஒன்பதாம் செய்யுள் போற்றிப் புகழ்கிறது. இச்செய்யுள் முருகனுடைய அகப்பொருள் வாழ்க்கையைக் கூறுகிறது.

காதற் காமம் காமத்துச் சிறந்தது (பரி. 9:14)

என்று குன்றம்பூதனார் காதற் காமத்தின் சிறப்பை எடுத்துரைக்கிறார். மேலும், அவர், அகப்பொருளையே 'தமிழ்' என்று போற்றுகிறார்:

தள்ளாப் பொருளியல்பின் **தண்டமிழாய்** வந்திலார்
கொள்ளாரிக் குன்று பயன். (பரி. 9:25–26)

இதற்கு உரையெழுதிய பரிமேலழகர்,

> இப்புணர்ச்சியை வேண்டுகின்ற பொருளிலக்கணத்தையுடைய தமிழை ஆராயாத தலைவர் (காதலர்) களவொழுக்கத்தைக் கொள்ளமாட்டார்கள் . . . இனி அக்களவிற் புணர்ச்சியை யுடைமையான் வள்ளி சிறந்தவாறும், அத்தமிழை ஆய்ந்தமையான் முருகன் சிறந்தவாறும் கூறுகின்றார்கள்[4]

என்று விளக்கம் தந்துள்ளமை இங்குக் கருதத்தக்கதாகும். இங்குச் சுட்டப்படும் 'தமிழ்' என்னும் சொல், அகப்பொருளை உணர்த்துவதாகப் பொருள் கொள்ளப்பட்டிருப்பது இங்கு நினைவுகூர்தற்குரியது.

செந்தமிழின் சிறப்பு

பதினெண் கீழ்க்கணக்குள் ஐந்திணை ஐம்பது என்பது ஓர் அகப்பொருள் நூலாகும். இதை மாறன் பொறையனார் இயற்றியுள்ளார். இந்நூலும் அகப்பொருளைத் தமிழ் என்றே கூறுகிறது:

ஐந்திணை ஐம்பதும் ஆர்வத்தின் ஓதாதார்
செந்தமிழ் சேரா தவர்.

(ஐந்திணை ஐம்பது சிறப். பா.)

இச்செய்யுளுள் 'செந்தமிழ்' என்னும் சொல், அகப்பொருளையே சிறப்பாக உணர்த்துகிறது.

இறையனார் கண்ட தமிழ்

இறையனார் அகப்பொருள் உரையும், தமிழ் என்னும் சொல்லால் அகப்பொருளைச் சுட்டுகிறது. உரைப்பாயிரத்தின் தொடக்கத்திலுள்ள

> இனி நுதலிய (இறையனார் அகப்பொருள் சொன்ன) பொருள் என்பது, நூற்பொருளைச் சொல்லுத லென்பது. இந்நூல் என்னுதலிற்றோவெனின் தமிழ் நுதலிய தென்பது[5]

என்னும் பகுதியில், தமிழ் என்னும் சொல், அகப்பொருளையே சுட்டுவதைக் காணலாம். இவ்வுரையின் மற்றோர் இடத்திலும்,

> இனி நூல் நுதலியதூஉம் உரைக்கற்பாற்று. அது பாயிரத்துள்ளே உரைத்தாம்; தமிழ் நுதலிய தென்பது[6]

என்னும் குறிப்பு காணப்படுகிறது.

மாணிக்கவாசகர் போற்றிய தமிழ்

கூடல் மாநகரில் சங்கப் புலவர்கள் ஆய்ந்த தீந்தமிழைக் குறிக்கும் இடத்து, மாணிக்கவாசகப் பெருமான் தமிழ் என்னும் சொல்லை, 'அகப்பொருள்' என்னும் பொருளில் பயன்படுத்தியுள்ளார்:

சிறைவான் புனற்றில்லைச் சிற்றம்
பலத்துமென் சிந்தையுள்ளும்
உறைவா னுயர்மதிற் கூடலின்
ஆய்ந்தவொண் தீந்தமிழின்
துறைவாய் நுழைந்தனையோ வன்றி
ஏழிசை சூழல் புக்கோ
இறைவா தடவரைத் தோட்கென்கொ
லாம் புகுந் தெய்தியதே

என்னும் திருக்கோவையார் பாடல் (20), இக்கருத்தை அரண் செய்கிறது.

சீவகன் ஆய்ந்த தென்தமிழ் மெய்ப்பொருள்

இடைக் காலத் தமிழகத்தில் வாழ்ந்த புலவர் பெருமக்களும், 'அகப் பொருள்' என்னும் பொருளில், தமிழ் என்னும் சொல்லைப் பயன்படுத்தியுள் ளனர். திருத்தக்க தேவர், தம்முடைய காப்பியத்தில், இச்சொல்லை, இப் பொருளில் கையாண்டுள்ளார். பதுமையும் சீவகனும் காதல் கொண்டனர். பிறர் அறியாதவகையில், அவர்கள் களவொழுக்கத்தில் ஈடுபட்டனர். சீவகன், பதுமையைச் சந்திக்கப் பூஞ்சோலைக்குச் சென்முன். இச்செய்தியைச் சொல்லு மிடத்து, 'தமிழ்' என்னும் சொல்லை,

தேவர் பண்ணிய தீந்தொடை இன்சுவை
மேவர் தென்தமிழ் மெய்ப்பொரு ளாதலின்
கோவத் தன்னமென் சீறடிக் கொம்பனுள்
பூவர் சோலை புகுவலென் றெண்ணினுன்

(சீவக சிந். பதுமை. 163)

என்று தேவர் வழங்கியுள்ளார்.

இப்பாடலில் இடம் பெற்றுள்ள, 'மேவர் தென்தமிழ்' என்னும் தொட ருக்கு, 'நாடக வழக்கும், உலகியல் வழக்கும் பொருந்துதல்வரும் அகப்பொரு ளில்' [7] என்று நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் விளக்கம் தந்துள்ளமையும் இங்குக் கருதற் பாலது.

தமிழியல் வழக்கு

யாப்பருங்கலம் ஒழிபியலில், 'மாலைமாற்றே சக்கரஞ் சுழிகுளம்' என்று தொடங்கும் சூத்திரத்தின் விருத்தியுரையில் எட்டு வகையான மணங்கள் சுட்டப்படுகின்றன. அப்பகுதியில் களவொழுக்கத்தினை விளக்குவதற்கு, அவிநயனுர் இயற்றிய செய்யுள் ஒன்று மேற்கோளாகக் காட்டப்பட்டிருக் கிறது. அச்செய்யுளின்,

முன்செய் வினையது மறையா வுண்மையின்
ஒத்த இருவரும் உள்ளக நெகிழ்ந்து
. . . .
மெய்யுறு வகையு முள்ளல்ல துடம்புறப் படாத்
தமிழியல் வழக்க மெனத்
தன்னன்பு மிகை பெருகிய
களவெனப் படுவது கந்தருவ மணமே[8]

என்னும் பகுதியில், 'தமிழியல்' என்னும் சொல் அகப்பொருளைச் சுட்டுவதைக் காணலாம்.

தமிழ் நெறி

'தமிழ் நெறி விளக்கம்' என்னும் அகப்பொருள் இலக்கண நூல் ஒன்று உளது. அந்நூலுள், 'அன்பின் ஐந்திணை' ஒழுக்கம், தமிழ்நெறி என்று போற்றப் படுவதும் இங்கு ஒப்புநோக்கத் தக்கதாகும்.

மேற்கண்ட சான்றுகள், அகப்பொருளைத் தமிழ் என்னும் சொல்லால் சுட்டும் வழக்கம் தொன்றுதொட்டு இருந்துவருவதைத் தெளிவுறுத்து கின்றன.

குறிப்புகள்

[1] ஆரிய அரசன் பிரகத்தன் தமிழ் கற்பதற்குக் கபிலர் தமிழ் இலக்கணம் எழுதினுர் என்று சிலர் கருதுகின்றனர் (V. R. R. Dikshitar: *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 28). அதை நாம் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ள இயலாது. தமிழ் என்னும் சொல்லுக்கு, அகப்பொருள் என்னும் பொருளும் உண்டு என்பதை அறியாததால் தவருகப் பொருள் கொண்டார்போலும்.

[2] யாழோர்—கந்தருவர்.

[3] பிரகத்தன், பிரமதத்தன் என்னும் பெயர்கள் ஒருவனையே குறிப்பனவாகும்.

[4] பரிபாடல் 9, பரிமேலழகர் உரை, பக். 99.

[5] இறையனுர் அகப்பொருள் உரையுடன், கழகம், சென்னை, 1969; பக். 14.

[6] ஷை, பக். 85.

[7] சீவக சிந்தாமணி மூலமும் நச்சினுர்க்கினியருரையும், உ. வே. சா. பதிப்பு; சென்னை, 1969; பக். 675.

[8] யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியுரை, S. பவானந்தம் பிள்ளை பதிப்பு, சென்னை, 1816; பக். 535.

தமிழ்த் தொண்டர்
ருசிய நாட்டு ரூதின் மறைந்தார்

பேராசிரியர் சு. ந. சொக்கலிங்கம்

செந்தமிழின் பிள்ளையாய், செந்தேனினுமினிய பைந்தமிழின் சீர்குறித்துப் பார்முழுதும் பேசிவந்த அன்புக் கிள்ளையாய், பண்பின் எல்லையாய் விளங்கிய ரூதின் மறைந்தார் என்னும் அவலச்செய்தியைக் கேட்டபோது, அதை என்னுல் நம்பவே முடியவில்லை. பின்னர், அச்செய்தி உண்மையென்று சிலர் மூலம் அறிந்து கவலைக் கடலில் மூழ்கினேன்; மனம் மாழ்கினேன். அவர் மாண்டார் என்ற செய்தி—இல்லையில்லை—'செந்தீ' என் உள்ளத்தைச் சுட்டுத் துடிதுடிக்கச் செய்தது; கண்ணீர் வடிக்கச் செய்தது. அந்த நாளில் அவரோடு பழகி, உரையாடி மகிழ்ந்த காட்சிகளெல்லாம் மனத்திரையில் நிழலாடி மறைந்தன.

யான் அறிந்தவரை, நம் அன்னைத் தமிழைத் தொடர்ந்தும், அழகாகவும், தெளிவாகவும் எடுத்துப் பேசும் ஆற்றல்மிக்க மேல்நாட்டவர் சிலருள் அவர் ஒருவராவர்.

1957ஆம் ஆண்டு ஏப்ரல் திங்கள், 10ஆம் நாள், நான் சோவியத்து ஒன்றியத் திற்குச் சென்றேன். மே மாதம் 3ஆம் தேதியன்று, நண்பர் ரூதின் முதல் வகுப்புத் தமிழ் நூலோடு வந்து என்னைச் சந்தித்தார்; தமிழ் கற்றுத் தருமாறு என்னை வேண்டினர். தாம் ஏறத்தாழ, இந்திய மொழிகள் ஒன்பதை அறிந்திருப் பதாகவும், தேனினும் இனிய தமிழை, தெவிட்டாத அமுத மொழியை, திராவிட மொழிகளுக்கெல்லாம் தாயாக விளங்கும் அருந்தமிழைக் கற்க விழைவதாகவும் அவர் கூறினர். 'ஏறத்தாழ முப்பது வயதை நெருங்கிய தாகத் தோற்றமளித்த இவர், இலக்கண வரம்புடைய இருந்தமிழைக் கற்க இயலுமா?' என நான் ஐயுற்றேன். இருப்பினும் விருப்போடு வந்து கேட்ப வருக்குத் தமிழ் கற்பிக்க மறுக்கக்கூடாதென எண்ணி, அன்று ஒரு மணி நேரம் கற்பித்தேன். அதற்கு மறுநாள் அவர் லெனின்கிராட் சென்றுவிட்டார்.

ஓராண்டுக்குப் பின்னர், ஒருநாள் அவர், தம் அருமைத் துணைவியாருடன் வந்து என்னைப் பார்த்தார். அந்த ஓராண்டு இடைவெளிக்குள் அந்த யூத நண்பர் ரூதின் தமிழைநன்கு படிக்கவும் எழுதவும் பேசவும் அறிந்திருந்தார். அந்த அளவு ஆர்வத்தோடு அவர், நம் தமிழை ஊன்றிப் படித்துத்தேறியிருந்தார். தமிழின் இளமையும் வளமையும், இனிமையும் உயர்வும் அவரது உள்ளத்தை மிகவும் கவர்ந்திருப்பதை அறிந்தேன். அதனுல், அவர் உள்ளத்தால் தமிழ ராகித் தம் பெயரையே **செம்பியன்** என்று மாற்றிக்கொண்டிருந்தார். அந்த இனிய செய்தியை, என்னிடம் அவர் செப்பியபோது, என் செவிகளில் தேனூறு பாய்ந்தது. கற்பவரின் இதயத்தைக் காந்தம்போல் கவருகின்ற ஆற்றல் பெற்ற நம் கன்னித் தமிழின் சிறப்புக் குறித்து மனத்துள் வியந்தேன்; நண்பர் ரூதினைப் புகழ்ந்தேன்.

அன்று, அவர் உரையாடி, பின் விடைபெற்றுச் செல்லும்போது அவரிடம் பேரறிஞர் மு.வ. அவர்கள் எழுதிய 'நெஞ்சில் ஒரு முள்' என்னும் நவீனத்தை அன்புப் பரிசாக அளித்தேன். அவர், அதை மகிழ்வோடு பெற்றுச் சென்ருர்.

அந்த நூலை ஊன்றிப் படித்து, திளைத்து, அந்நூலின் சிறப்பைக் குறித்து இனிய தமிழில் அழகொழுக எனக்கு அவர் எழுதியிருந்த மடலை இன்று நினைத் தாலும் இனிக்கிறது; அத்தகைய அருமை நண்பர் இன்றில்லையே என்பதை எண்ணும்போது நெஞ்சு துடிக்கிறது.

பன்மொழிப் புலவரான செமியோன் கெஸ்ஸலேவிச் ரூதின் (Semyon Gesselevich Rudin) லெனின்கிராட் நகரில், 1929ஆம் ஆண்டு, ஜூலைத் திங்கள் 21ஆம் நாள் பிறந்தவராவர். அவர் யூதர் இனத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர். இயல்பாகவே மதிநுட்பமும், பல மொழிகளைப் பயிலுவதில் பேரார்வமும் உடையவராக அவர் விளங்கினர்; லெனின்கிராட் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் பயின்று பட்டம் பெற்றார். இந்திய இயலில் (Indology) பேரீடுபாடுகொண்டிருந்ததால், அத்துறையிலும் ஒரு மேற்படிப்புச் சான்றிதழை அவர் பெற்றார்.

இந்திய இயலைப் பயின்றபொழுது, தமிழ் மொழி, கலை, பண்பாடு ஆகியவற்றை நன்கறியவேண்டும் என்னும் வேட்கை அவருக்கு உண்டாயிற்று. அதனால், தமிழ் மொழியைத் தாமே, அரிதின் முயன்று அவர் கற்றார். என்னிடம் ஒருநாள் தமிழைப் பயின்ற பிறகு, ருஷியாவிற்கு வந்திருந்த பேராசிரியை ஆதிலட்சுமியிடம் தமிழையும், தெலுங்கையும் கற்று ரூதின் தேர்ச்சி பெற்றிருந்தார். அப்பொழுது சமஸ்கிருதம், இந்தி, வங்காளி, மராட்டி போன்ற இந்திய மொழிகளில் பேசக்கூடிய திறமையும், எழுதக்கூடிய ஆற்றலும் அவருக்கு இருந்தன. ஐரோப்பிய மொழிகளில் பண்டை எபிரேயத்தையும், இலத்தீனையும் அவர் கற்றிருந்தார்; இன்றைய ஐரோப்பிய மொழிகளில் ஆங்கிலம், ஜெர்மன், பிரெஞ்சு முதலிய மொழிகளிலும் அவருக்குப் புலமை உண்டு.

1960ஆம் ஆண்டில், அவருடைய பேருழைப்பையும் பெருந்திறமையையும் புலப்படுத்தும் தமிழ்—ருஷிய அகராதி வெளியிடப் பெற்றது. இவ்வகராதிப் பணியில் ரூதினோடு, பேராசிரியர் ஏ. பியாதிகோர்ஸ்கியும் சேர்ந்து செயலாற்றினர். இவ்வகராதியில் ஏறக்குறைய 46,000 சொற்கள் இடம் பெற்றுள்ளன. அவற்றுள் செம்பாதிக்கு மேற்பட்டவை பழகு தமிழ்ச் சொற்களாகும். இவ்வகராதி, நம் நாட்டவர் ருஷிய மொழியை எளிதில் பயிலுவதற்குப் பேருதவியாக உள்ளது.

தமிழ் மொழியின் ஒலியழுத்தம் (stress) குறித்து 1964ஆம் ஆண்டில், சுவைமிக்க மொழியியல் ஆய்வுக் கட்டுரை ஒன்றை எழுதி, ரூதின் உலகப் புகழ் பெற்றார். அவ்வாண்டில் நடைபெற்ற தமிழ் எழுத்தாளர் சங்க மாநாட்டில், அவருடைய தமிழ்த் தொண்டைப் பாராட்டி, தமிழ் மக்கள் கேடயம் ஒன்று வழங்கி, ரூதினைப் போற்றினர். 1965—1966ஆம் ஆண்டு, ரூதின் தமிழகத்திற்கு வந்து, தம் தமிழ்ப் புலமையை நன்கு வளர்த்துக்கொண்டார். அக்காலத்தில் சென்னையிலிருக்கும் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் பேரறிஞர் மு. வரதராசனர் அவர்களிடம் தமிழ் கற்றார். அவர் தமிழ் கற்ற முறைபற்றிச் சொன்னல் வியப்பு மேலிடும். நண்பர் ரூதின், பண்டைக்காலக் குரு—சீடர் முறையில் முத்தமிழ் கற்றார்; தலை மாணவர் என்று ஆசிரியரால் போற்றப் பெற்றார்.

1966ஆம் ஆண்டில், தமிழில் பெயரெச்சங்கள், வினையெச்சங்கள் என்னும் பொருள் குறித்தும், தமிழில் துணைச் சொற்கள் என்னும் பொருள்பற்றியும் இரண்டு கட்டுரைகளை ரூதின் எழுதியுள்ளார். 1968இல் சென்னையில் நடைபெற்ற இரண்டாவது உலகத் தமிழ் மாநாட்டில் கலந்துகொண்ட இவ்வறிஞர், இன்றைய இலக்கியத் தமிழில் வழங்கும் சொற்களின் வகை என்னும் ஆய்வுரையை வழங்கினர்.

லெனின்கிராடு பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில், தமிழ், இந்தி மொழிகளின் விரிவுரையாளராகப் பத்தாண்டுகளுக்கு மேலாக அவர் பணிபுரிந்துள்ளார். இரண்டாண்டுகளுக்கு முன்னர், ரூதின் டாக்டர் பட்டத்தைப் பெற்றார். அவர் ‘இந்துஸ்தானி மொழியின் ஒலியியல் அமைப்பில் சில சிக்கல்கள்’ என்னும் பொருள்பற்றியும், ‘இந்தி மொழியின் ஒலியியல்’ என்னும் பொருள் குறித்தும் எழுதியுள்ள கட்டுரைகளையும் மொழியியல் அறிஞர் சிறப்பு மிக்கனவாகப் போற்றுகின்றனர்.

இத்தகைய அறிவுத்திறனும் விழுமிய பண்பும் வாய்ந்த நண்பரை, கடைசியாக 1972ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதம் லெனின்கிராடு சென்றிருந்தபொழுது

சந்தித்தேன். அப்போது அவர் ஆவலோடு வந்து என்னைக் கண்டார்; மகிழ்ச்சி கொண்டார். நானும் அவரும் சுமார் எட்டு மணி நேரம் பண்டைத் தமிழகத்தின் நிலை குறித்தும், அந்நாளில் நம் அன்னைத் தமிழ் அரியாசனத்திலமர்ந்து ஆட்சி புரிந்த மாட்சி குறித்தும், இடைக்காலத்தில் நேர்ந்த தமிழகத்தின் தாழ்ச்சி குறித்தும்,இன்றைய வளர்ச்சி குறித்தும் உரையாடினோம். என்று நினைத்தாலும் இனிக்கின்ற உரையாடல் அது. அதன் பின்னர் நானும் நண்பர் ரூதினும், நீவா ஆற்றில் படகிலேறிச் சென்று மகிழ்ந்தோம். அந்த நீவா ஆறு, அவரது இன்னுயிரைப் பறிக்கும் எமனாய் இருக்குமென்று அன்று நாங்கள் நினைக்கவில்லை. இன்றோ, அந்த நீவா ஆறு செம்பியனை விழுங்கி நம்மை எல்லாம் மாளாத் துயரில் ஆழ்த்தியிருக்கிறது. நீவா நதிக்கும் உலகளந்த நம் தமிழ்மீது தணியாத பற்று ஏற்பட்டு, உள்ளத்தால் தமிழரான செம்பியனை விழுங்கித் தன் வயிற்றுக்குள் வைத்துக்கொண்டதோ என்று, என் பேதை மனம் நினைக்கிறது. இதை நினைக்கும்போது பெருந் துயரம் என்னை வாட்டுகிறது; வதைக்கிறது.

செந்தமிழர் சிந்தையிலே நீங்கா இடம்பெற்றுவிட்ட செம்பியனின் நீடு புகழ் வாழ்க!

The Development of Tamil Short Story in Malaysia

R. DHANDAYUDHAM

Introduction

The Short Story emerged as a new literary *genre* in the last few decades of the nineteenth century and from that day it has shown a more surprising and steady development than any other literary form. It is the latest addition to the body of imaginative writing but not the least.

There are various reasons for the emergence of short story as a literary form. The development of prose, the spread of printing presses, the abolition of certain privileges to the higher classes, the educational opportunities and the rise of common man — are some of them. But the most important one lies in the change of everyday life due to the advancement of industrialisation. Life has become somewhat mechanised and routine and people have not as much leisure time as they had before. Further, speed and mechanisation of life have created a number of conflicts both ideological and psychological. The literary forms which then prevailed were not adequate to express these changes and they were badly in need of a new form to suit their needs. As it is true that literary forms and time are closely connected, this period gave birth to a briefer form, namely the Short Story. A. C. Ward in his book on short stories explains this as follows : ' Life is now depicted as an affair of jagged and blurred edges, of hazy and indefinable outlines, where dim half-lights afford little opportunity for clear discernment. The conscious and the subconscious intermingle ; death and life are uncertainly poised ; the subconscious impinges upon the unconscious. May it not be (the question is implied) that death itself is but a further remove from subconsciousness ; and that even death may prove, in the ultimate cycle, to be contiguous to life, in a sense at present unfathomable ? While such speculations engage the human mind, it is natural that literature should reflect the preoccupations. The Short Story has not been less susceptible to these influences than are poetry and the novel. Yet in general, perhaps, the effect has here been less deleterious. The brief prose form lends itself readily to impressionistic

excursions into the dim territory of the subconscious ; it allows experimental glimpses into 'the other-word', which is — 'how close? how far?'[1]

Edgar Allen Poe first formulated some of the principles of the short story, of which W. Somerset Maugham says thus : 'It is not hard to state what Poe meant by a good short story : it is a piece of fiction, dealing with a single incident, material or spiritual, that can be read at a sitting ; it is original, it must sparkle, excite or impress ; and it must have unity of effect or impression. It should move in an even line from its exposition to its close'[2]. Even though Poe formulated some precepts of the short story and guided how to write it, most of the stories of this period were not written on these lines. The very term 'story' was seldom employed and it took another forty years to shape it properly.[3]

In Tamil, the earlier attempt in writing short stories was made by *V. V. S. Iyer.* His stories first appeared in journals during 1910-1920 and then were collected and published under the title *Maṅkaiyarkaraciyiṉ Kātal* in 1927 (after his death in 1925). This is the first short story collection in Tamil and from that time it has become a powerful literary medium in Tamil.

Tamil Writings in Malaysia

The contact between Malaysia and the Tamils date back two thousand years. But the earlier contacts of the Tamils with Malaysia, as Alexander Verghese puts it, 'lay not in their settlement here, but in their influence[4].' The second and important phase of contacts started in eighteenth century in the form of immigrants, to work in the sugarcane plantations, and later in the rubber estates and so on. Most of them were from South India and particularly from the labour classes. In the beginning years they were actually struggling for survival and one cannot expect any literary activity from them during these years.

But soon a considerable number of immigrants decided to settle in this country, and after this decision was made, they tried in all possible ways to preserve their language and religion. First and foremost they started a few Tamil schools and as early as in 1821, we see a Tamil School in Penang. After some time, they also engaged themselves in publishing books on the lines of books published in Tamilnad. Though they borrowed the forms, it is interesting to note that some of them even tried to depict the background of this country in their works. *Ciṅkai Nakar Antāti* (1887), *Taṇṇīrmalai Civasaṇmukanātaṉiṉ Pakticura Kīrtaṉai* (1929), 'Pinang(u) *Taṇṇīrmalai Murukaṉ Āṭu Mayil Pāṭalkaḷ*' (1931), 'Kuala Lumpur *Batumalai Cakti Vaṭivēlar Pēril Kāvaṭi Alaṅkāra Āciriya Viruttam*' (1936), *Malaya Nāṭṭil Veḷḷattāl Viḷainta Vipattiṉ*

Cintu (1932) and *Malaya Naṟkāla Cintu* (1934) are some of them. Though the manner in which they were presented was a borrowed one, the matter was purely local.

The twenties of this century witnessed the birth of Tamil newspapers and periodicals in this country. In the beginning, much space was provided for the writings of Tamilnad but slowly this tendency changed. Malaysian Tamil writers were encouraged in all possible ways and today ninety-nine percent of the space is provided for the local writings.

Malaysian Tamil writings owe much to the three Tamil dailies, namely *Tamil Nēcaṉ*, *Tamil Muracu* and *Tamil Malar* for providing the whole Sunday issues for the development of Malaysian Tamil literature. The first and the last duty of most newspapers is to give news. But, as far as this country is concerned, it is quite different. Since no journals and periodicals were able to continue long, the editors of these dailies realised their responsibility and willingly accorded the Sunday issues of their newspapers for the local creative writings.

The Beginning of Tamil Short Story

Unlike other literary forms, the development of the short story largely depends upon the growth of periodicals. Critics, sometimes, even go to the extent of saying that the short story itself is a product of the journals and periodicals. This is true for the development of short story in any language and in fact it is the demand of the periodicals that encourages writers to write short stories. Sometimes it also happens that without consciously knowing that they are introducing a new literary form, the writers create short stories to meet the needs of the periodicals and the reading public. This happened in the case of Malay short stories and while tracing its development, Prof. Taib Osman points out this : ' At about the same time too, beginning from 1925 or thereabout, short stories began to appear in the newspapers and magazines. It did not grow out of any conscious effort at creating a new literary *genre*, but rather out of a journalistic endeavour to provide entertaining reading in the columns of the newspapers.'[5]

But unfortunately, there were (and are) many obstacles in the path of running a Tamil journal and this situation, indeed, much affected the development of Tamil short story in this country. Dr. Rama Subbiah, while discussing this, states as follows : ' Tamils in Malaysia and Singapore had and have a great enthusiasm for publishing, and this resulted, especially in the field of periodicals, in a surprisingly great number of dailies, weeklies and monthlies. Most of these, unfortunately, ran only for very short periods (and a few have only one number) . . . . Tamil writing in Malaysia has not succeeded in creating a reading public

and this apathy has killed many a publication and dampened the spirit of the writers and the publishers. Besides this, many enthusiastic writers, anxious to get their writing in print, began to produce periodicals with limited capital, and when they could not recover the money they had put in, they were forced to stop publication.'[6] The other sad part of it is that most of the journals published are not even preserved properly and this seems to be another obstacle in tracing the beginning of Tamil short story in Malaysia.

It is quite clear that novel writing set the beginning for modern Tamil literature in this country. As far as the records are concerned, Venkataratnam's *Karuṇācākaraṉ Allatu Kātaliṉ Mātci*, published in 1917, seems to be the first Malaysian Tamil Novel. But one cannot trace the history of Tamil short stories like this, for the reasons stated above and so the opinions regarding the beginning is also varied.

In his article on the ' Growth of Modern Tamil Literature in Malaysia ', *Murugu Subramaniam* says that the Tamil newspapers started in 1924 and it took twenty-five years to get the first set of Tamil writers in the field.[7] *A. Murugian*, in a paper presented to the Malaya Writers' Conference in 1962, points out that the history of Malaysian short story is of only thirteen years.[8] *S. Veluswamy*, in one of his recent articles, states that Tamil short story started in the year 1947.[9] But *V. S. Muthiah* differs from all the three and according to him, short story writing started somewhere in the thirties.[10]

From all these views, it can be assumed that short story writing sets its foot either in the late thirties or forties of this century. But it needs further research to confirm this and to find out when and by whom it actually was started.

The Forties

The literary activity in the early forties was very little and the Japanese occupation period for three-and-a-half years actually subsided it. Though there were a few magazines and periodicals, they were just as tools for the Japanese propaganda either directly or indirectly. But, as we said early, it is this period which saw the birth of short story in Tamil. One of the earliest writers to write short stories was *R. Halasyanathan*, popularly known as *R. H. Nathan*. Under the pseudonym *Yuva Bharathan*, he wrote stories in *Tamil Nēcaṉ* and it is told that he wrote them under the influence of the *Maṇikkoṭi* literary movement in Tamilnad.[11] *Rajappa* (*Ācai Mukam Maṟantu Pōccē*), *Karu. Ponnampalam* (*Cirañcīvi Vēṇu*), *A. Vira. Na.* (*Kātalarkaḷiṉ Tēcapakti*) and *A. Mu. Ci.* (*Vitiyiṉ Cuḻal*) were some of the other early short story writers who wrote during the Japanese occupation period.[12]

Following this, many short stories appeared in the columns of the newspapers. But it is doubtful whether they were written according to the modern concept of the short story. No doubt, they were short and had story content. But the term ' Short Story ' is used today to denote a specific *genre* which has certain precepts. If we analyse a story of the forties, then we can understand it in a better way. *Apalaiyiṉ Kaṇṇīr*, by *A. Naina Muhammed*, appeared in the newspaper columns of ' *Tēca Nēcaṉ* ' in the year 1948.[13] It delineates the sorrows of a woman whose husband is shortly leaving for Malaya in order to earn a livelihood. The story commences with a conversation between the husband and his friend which runs for nine paragraphs. In the tenth paragraph, the hero explains the economic inequalities in the society and requests his fellow country-men to reconsider whether it is necessary to go to other countries just for the sake of money and that is the end of the story.

In this story, the author's moral message seems to predominate and all other things—characterization, form and technique of the short story—are just ignored. He wants to tell something and tells it directly. We cannot blame him because it is quite common with the early short stories of many languages. The Malay short stories of the twenties were also like this[14] and it seems to be a common rule to many of the early writers of any modern literary *genre* that it is nothing but an alternative medium ' to essays on social questions '.

The post-war period is indeed a period of literary awakening in this country. Of this, Prof. Taib says thus : ' The pattern of literary activity during the post-war period is quite distinct from the pre-war period. The underlying factor which gives rise to this difference is that the post-war period displays an awakening in literary activity which reflects a great consciousness for literature as a cultural manifestation of the society. The reading public is no more a passive recipient ; criticism and evaluation of works are common. And on the part of the writers, although they entertain certain conceptions as to the social functions of literature, they do not lose sight of the fact that theirs is a creative work of art.'[15] To some extent this is true to the Tamils of this country also. The news columns of the dailies during the war-time had increased the Tamil reading public considerably and the interests of the reading public in this period turned towards the creative literature. Many of them consciously developed the habit of reading creative works and some of them even attempted to produce creative works. But they were not fully aware of the concepts of the literary *genre* they aimed at, and it is in this situation that the *Tamil Nēcaṉ* started ' Story Classes '.

The Story Classes

The beginning of ' story classes ' (*Katai Vakuppu*) in the columns of *Tamil Nēcaṉ* is a turning point in the history of Malaysian Tamil Short

Story. Till then, eventhough there were attempts in writing short stories, they were scattered and no organisational effort was ever taken either to develop or shape it according to the modern needs. *Katai Vakuppu* seems to be the first of its kind. It was started in 1950 and continued for eighteen months. *Sp. Narayanan*, under the pseudonym *Kandasami Vadyar*, did this with the assistance of *Biroji Narayanan*, whose pseudonym was *Vanambadi*. *Biroji Narayanan* was then in charge of the Sunday issue and they were given full freedom to carry out their work.

The way in which the stories were criticised and many useful suggestions were given is quite interesting. The imaginary critics *Ravaneswara Pulavar* and *Badmasura Pavalar* (nothing but *Kandasamy Vadyar*) used to criticise the stories and if there was any plagiarism, *Pidarikkannan* used to pass judgements under the title *Ilakkiya Mārīcam*. The judgements would sometimes be amusing. For example, the punishment for a plagiarist would be the abandonment from writing to the paper for two years.[16] In doing all these things, their intention seems to be the introduction of story techniques in an easy and clear way rather than in a serious and tedious way.

After a year or so, both *Kandasamy Vadyar* and *Vanambadi* wanted to assess the degree of improvement and thus conducted an examination for the writers who participated in the story classes. The results were published on 22nd April, 1951. The writers who ' got through ' the examination were divided into five categories, namely, the best writers (*Metai Eḻuttāḷar*), very good writers (*Ciṟanta Eḻuttāḷar*), progressive writers (*Tērnta Eḻuttāḷar*), good writers (*Nalla Eḻuttāḷar*) and enthusiastic writers (*Ārva Eḻuttāḷar*). *P. A. Krishnadasan* of Taiping, *A. Ramanathan* of Sungai Siput and *A. Mariappan* of Kajang were selected as best writers.[17] It is interesting to note that many of the writers who ' got through ' the examination are still in the writing field.

The encouragement given by *Katai Vakuppu* was so great that we find a considerable number of short story writers in the following years. *S. Gunasekar*, *Rasa. Ilavalagan*, *Nagu Manalan*, *V. S. Muthiah*, *Mayadevan*, *S. Veluswamy*, *S. Vadivelu*, *S.V.S.*, *C. Kon*, *S. Kamalanathan*, *Re. Karthikesu*, *Mullai*, *Thillai*, *Malabar Kumar*, *S. Peer Mohammed*, *P. Chandra Kanthan* and *N. Maheswari* are some of them who by their writings, enriched the Tamil short story writing in Malaysia.

After sometime, *Tamil Muracu* started the ' Tamil Writers' Club ' and many interesting discussions on modern writing appeared in these columns.

The next important encouragement was given by *K. Alagirisami*, one of the best short story writers of Tamilnad. He came to Malaya in

1951 to serve in *Tamil Nēcaṉ* and in 1952 he became the editor of the Sunday issue. Though he wrote only one or two short stories during his stay in Malaysia, he encouraged many writers to enter this field. He did it in many ways, but the most important one lies in the short story classes conducted by him during January-September 1957. He used to conduct these classes on the last Saturday of every month and writers even from the distant states of Kedah and Johore attended these classes. These classes really contributed to the short story development in this country considerably and even today there are writers who feel proud to claim that they belong to the '*Ku. A.* Tradition' (Ku. *A. Paramparai*).

1957 *and After*

The year of 'merdeka', 1957, marks another turning point in the development of Malaysian short stories. Political freedom and the development of literature are closely connected, and this can be seen here too. In fact, the history of Malaysian Tamil short stories could be divided into two periods—before and after 1957. The differences could be seen distinctly and the major one lies in the publication of short story collections.

In spite of many stories published in the Sunday issues and periodicals, not much interest was shown in collecting them and publishing them in book form. It is true that the development of short story depends much on the magazines and periodicals, but it should also be remembered that some sort of permanency is achieved only when they are published in book form. The dailies, periodicals and the magazines have a short life and irrespective of their quality, short stories published in them will rapidly disappear from public notice. Before 1957, only one Tamil short story collection appeared in the Malaysian literary scene and that too was published in India.[18] But after 1957, much attention was devoted to this field and to date, more than twenty-five collections have been published, all in this country.[19] *Aṉpu Itayam*, *Maṉik Kataikaḷ*, *Cīṉak Kiḻavaṉ*, *Iruṇṭa Vulakam*, *Tavattiṉ Valimai*, and *Paṭṭiṉik Kuruvi* are some of the noteworthy collections which contain good short stories.

Apart from the publication of short story collections, this period also witnessed many short story competitions, of which two—one conducted by *K. Alagirisami* and Moorthy and the other by *Tamil Pannai*—are worth mentioning. In the first one, Nagu Manalan got the first prize. In the other, *S. Veluswami* and *S. Vadivelu* shared the first prize, *S.V.S.* got the second and *Karaikkudi Ramasami*, the third prizes respectively. In fact, no other literary *genre* was thus encouraged as the short story. Even today, short story writing is more encouraged than any other literary form. *Tamil Malar* selects one best short story every

month from the stories published in its columns. *Tamil Nēcaṉ* awards a sovereign to the best short story every month, selected from the stories published in its Sunday issues. In addition, the Malaysian Tamil Writers' Association also presents fifty dollars every month for the best Tamil short story published in Malaysia. The critical estimates of these stories are also published from time to time in the newspapers and they serve in two ways. In the first place, they have given valuable suggestions to the writers and in the second, they contribute to a considerable extent to the development of literary criticism. As a result, forty to fifty Tamil short stories appear every month in the newspapers and periodicals in Malaysia and Writers' interest in handling new themes and techniques are clearly visible even to the lay reader.

A Study of the Short Stories

Though the primary aim of this paper is to trace the history and development of Tamil short story in Malaysia, it is felt that it is also necessary to study the themes and other aspects of the short stories written here at least to a limited extent. In the beginning years, many stories were written with a theme of love because most of the writers were young and unmarried.[20] But slowly this tendency changed and now stories with varied themes and backgrounds are appearing.

The Japanese occupation period is, indeed, one of the unforgettable periods for the Tamils here and the situations of this period induced some writers to write the stories with this background. *S. Vadivelu, S. Kamalanathan, M. Ramaiah, Thillai, Rasa. Ilavalagan, S. Veluswami S. Anbarasan* and *S. B. Shanmugam* are some of them. Among them, only *S. Vadivelu* has published two short story collections. His first aim seems to appeal to the reader's heart rather than his mind and in this, he succeeds considerably. With unusual creative talent he depicts the atmosphere of his stories in a fine way and the incidents are so knitted that the plot seems to be most realistic. *Muttucāmik Kiḻavaṉ, Iruṇṭa Vulakam, Tāyum Makaṉum* and *Iraṇṭu Tiruṭarkaḷ* are some of his stories written with the background of the Japanese occupation period. His other stories *Tiruvāḷar Ciṉṉak Kaṇṇu, Iraṭṭaip Pūṭṭu* and *Karuppiah Kaṅkāṇi* are written with the rubber plantation background.

In *Re. Karthikesu's* stories, one can see an admixture of realism and imagination. He is always keen in observing the human drama that is going on around him and tries to capture it in his stories. He not only creates characters but also moulds them in such a beautiful way that they wander before us as if flesh and blood. *Putiya Maṉitaṉ, Maṉak Kaṇakku, Piḷḷaiyār Pantu* and *Dato Kaṇṇappar* are some of his best short stories. The last story is a recent one in which he portrays in a

touching way, the character of a politician who is capable of utilising any situations without offending anybody.

The gift of narrating incidents along with an ability to dramatize them could be seen in the stories of *Malabar Kumar*. His first collection of stories has been published under the title *Cīṉak Kiḻavaṉ*. *Cīṉak Kiḻavaṉ*, *Kāval*, *Maṉattil Vūṉam* and *Maṉitaṉavatarku Oru Cantarppam* are some of his noteworthy short stories.

Apart from them, there are not less than a dozen prominent short story writers whose creations really contribute to the development of Malaysian Tamil short stories. *M. Anbuch Chelvan* (*Avaṉ Vīraṉ* and *Koṭukkap Piṟantavaṉ*), *S. Kamalanathan* (*Cañcik Kūli*), *S. Peer Mohammed* (*Ataṉāl Eṉṉa ?*), *Nagu Manalan* (*Niṟai Maṉam*), *S. Veluswamy* (*Naṇpaṉiṉ Maṉaivi*), *Mayadevan* (*Ratta Tāṉam* and *Capalam*), *M. A. Ilanchelvan* (*Iḻaippu Vuḷi*) and *A. M. Saga* (*Paṭṭiṉik Kuruvi*) are some of them.

As it is a multi-racial country, writers now show much interest in depicting the way of life of the people of other races. This will certainly help to build an ideal nation and to bring out co-operation and understanding between the people of different races including writers. *S. Vadivelu*, *R. Karthikesu* and *R. Shanmugam* show much interest in creating such stories.

Conclusion

Though the beginning of the Malaysian Tamil short stories could be seen in the late thirties or early forties, it is quite clear that it tries to take its mature shape only in the fifties. From sixties it speeds up well, and if we calculate the development of Tamil short stories on these lines, the achievement is really encouraging. But the achievement would be more if there was a regular and steady continuation. Unfortunately, it is not so. The writers who start their literary career actively, become tired after some time and a new set of writers begin to evolve. As it is true that the development of any literary *genre* will be measured by quality rather than quantity, and for quality writing constant practice is required, this discontinuity prevents development. This should be rectified by finding out the reasons for this and every encouragement should be given to those experienced writers to write regularly.

In the second place, as the development of short story largely depends upon the growth of periodicals, some steps should be taken to run a standard Tamil magazine.

And in the third, the publication of short story collections should be encouraged. Only the readers can do this, and so, the Malaysian Tamil writings should attempt to create a regular reading public.

If these things are considered with due attention, there will be much scope for experiments in form and content in the future which will enable the short story to develop steadily. Let us hope for it, so that the future of Malaysian short story writing will be brighter and more inspiring.

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Tolkāppiyam—Eḻuttatikāram
Phonology

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

CHAPTER VII. *Chapter on Exceptions [to the Rules Concerning] Vowels*

204. After a noun ending in *-a*,
if *k*, *c*, *t*, [and] *p* occurs in non-case relation,
the respective initial consonant is doubled.[220]

205. Gerunds,[221] words of comparison,[222]
the elliptical form *eṉa*, demonstrative endings,[223]
and *āṅka*, the connective prose-particle, all these have
the plosives doubled as [in the cases] mentioned above.[224]

206. If *ñ*, *n* [and] *m* appear after the demonstrative,
the respective consonant must be doubled.[225]

207. If *y* and *v* follow, *v* is inserted.[226]

208. Even if a vowel follows, that rule is not affected.[227]

209. It is appropriate that the lengthened forms occur in poetry.[228]

210. The verbal participle *cāva* may lose
its final *va*.[229]

211. *Aṉṉa*, the particle of comparison,[230]
vocative words[231] addressed [to persons] near,
finite verbs of the type *ceymmaṉa*,
optative[232] in the sense of command,[233]
relative participles[234] of the type *ceyta*,
gerunds of the type *ceyyiya*,
amma, the particle used in addressing [a person]
and the words ending in *-a* denoting many—
all these, they say, remain unchanged.[235]

212. The final *ya* of the optative *vāḻiya*
is optionally dropped.[236]

213. No one prevents the lengthening[237] of the particle used in addressing [a person].[238]

214. The final of the words denoting ' many '
may be lengthened in some compounds in poetry.[239]

215. *La* of the standing words may be changed to *ṛ*,
if they are not *toṭar* and are followed by the same [words].[240]

216. The quality [of *p* and *c* after *pala* and *cila* when
followed by identical words] is optionally changed
into a [long] plosive.[241]

217. In case-relationship, too, the same rule applies.[242]

218. In the words denoting trees,[243] a nasal is inserted.[244]

219. The word denoting child (*maka*) has the empty morph -*iṉ*.[245]

220. It is not objectionable if *attu* occurs in that position.[246]

221. The ending of the [words] *pala* [etc.] maintains [the
same] manner [in] case-relationship.[247]

222. The ending *ā* is of the same nature as *a*.[248]

223. Scholars maintain that even the gerund[249] of the type *ceyyā*
will not deviate from the rule.[250]

224. [In] the compounds of two words[251] [with] *um* removed,
a is in fact inserted.[252]

225. The words *ā* ' cow ' and *mā* ' beast ', nouns in vocative,
the interrogative *yā*, the ending [*ā*] of non-personal
[plural finite verbs],
the expletive particle *miyā* denoting command,
[and] interrogative words denoting the action of the speaker
[have] no [change] ; all such [expressions] [have]
the natural joining ; thus it is said.[253]

226. In case-relationship, too, the same rule applies.[254]

227. [After the standing word] *a* appears [after *ā*] when
a short vowel precedes, or with a one-letter word.[255]

228. The word *irā* ' night ' has not the phoneme *a*.[256]

229. The word *nilā* ' moonshine ' combines with *attu*.[257]

230. The three nouns—the word *yā* [denoting] a tree,
piṭā and *taḷā*—have the nasals inserted.[258]

231. There is no harm even if a plosive is inserted.[259]

232. The word *mā* [denoting] a tree, and [the words] *ā* and *mā*,
these three nouns are like those [above in behaviour];
the phoneme *a* and the plosive, they do not remain in
that position,
[and] the phoneme *ṉ* combines with *ā* and *mā*.[260]

233. *ā* with the consonant *ṉ* will have [its proper] place
with the phoneme *a*.[261]

234. If the word *ān* is followed by the word *p* and *ī*,
it is proper to shorten [it] after that very [*p*] has appeared.[262]

235. In poetry it is proper that the final *ā* of the preceding word
which has a short vowel is shortened to *a* and *u* is inserted
[after it].[263]

236. If the standing word is a noun in case-relationship
and ends in *i*, the plosive is inserted.[264]

237. Similarly the words *iṉi* ' now ' and *aṇi* ' near ' denoting time
and place,
the gerund [*iṉ* -*i*] and the demonstrative [root *i*].[265]

238. The *i* standing at the end of the gerund *iṉṟi*
is changed to *u*
in the old traditional poetry.[266]

239. The nature of the demonstrative [*i*]
is the same as that mentioned before.[267]

240. If the word *tūṇi* ' a measure of 4 marcals ' precedes
the word *patakku* ' a measure of 2 marcals ',
it is the same as the case-relation mentioned before.[268]

241. If the word *nāḻi* ' a corn-measure '
is followed by the word *uri* ' a corn-measure '
the final *i* and the consonant are dropped and *ṭ* takes
their place.[269]

242. The word *paṉi* denoting [dewy] season takes
the empty-morphs *attu* and *iṉ* in case-relationship.[270]

243. They say that it is most appropriate that the word
vaḷi when denoting an element[271] is of the same nature.[272]

244. The word *uti* denoting a tree has the nasal inserted.[273]

245. The word *puḷi* ' tamarind tree ' has the empty-morph *-am*.

246. The noun *puḷi* [denoting] other [things] has the nasal inserted.

247. There is no mistake if a stop is inserted ;
it is in accordance with usage.[274]

248. There is no doubt that *āṉ* occurs between a verb
and any noun denoting a day [ending in *-i*].[275]

249. If the [names of] the months precede [a verb], *ikku* is
the empty-morph.[276]

250. The ending *ī* is like the ending *ā*.[277]

251. The [pro] noun *nī*, the indecent noun,[278]
and the word *mī* denoting place-relationship—
they have no additional plosive inserted.[279]

252. It is said that there are words before which a plosive
is inserted after the word denoting place-relationship.[280]

253. The same is the case even in case-relationship.[281]

254. The single-lettered word *nī* behaves as before case-suffixes.
In that case no plosive is inserted.[282]

255. The ending *u* is the same as *a*.[283]

256. After the demonstrative [*u*] that same function operates.[284]

257. If other [sounds than plosives] occur, the above-said
situation applies.[285]

258. The final [*u*] with demonstratives as initials will remain
unchanged.[286]

259. It is said to be proper that in poetry
[it = the final *u*] is changed to *ā* when *aṉṟu* follows,
and disappears leaving the consonant when *ai* follows.[287]

260. And in case-relationship it is the same as that.[288]

261. When one examines the pertinent cases, then
eru ' manure ' and *ceru* ' battle ' having *am* are liable to change.
The *-m* of *-am* disappears in *ceru*
and the plosive doubles.[289]

262. [If the standing word ends in] *ḻ* [*u*], the sound *u* may
be lengthened and in such positions [another] *u* appears.[290]

263. The word *oṭu* [denoting] a tree is like *uti* [denoting] a tree.[291]

264. The final [*u*] commencing with a demonstrative stands
in the nature of case-relation.
The plosive consonant will not double.[292]

265. The ending in the long sound *ū* is the same as the long sound *ā*.[293]

266. When one thinks [of it], the gerund and the second
person finite verb are not prevented from that change.[294]

267. In case-relationship, too, it is the same like that.[295]

268. The sound *u* must occur [after *ū*] following after
the one-letter word and after a short-vowel [-word].[296]

269. That change does not take place with the one noun *pū* ' flower ' ;
in that place, the stop may be inserted.[297]

270. The one noun *ū* ' flesh ' joins with *ā*.[298]

271. Know that in usage, in the proper place,
it should take the empty-morph *akku*.[299]

272. There is no harm if the particle *iṉ* occurs
with the two words *āṭūu* ' man ' and *makaṭūu* ' woman '.[300]

273. The sounds *e* and *o* shall not stand at the end of nouns ;
scholars maintain [that they occur] in words of second person
except when they [denote] certainty and distinctiveness.[301]

274. The sound *e* [denoting] certainty and the *o* [denoting] distinctive-ness
will not have the occurrence of plosives.[302]

275. The ending in the long sound *ē* is the same as the long sound *ū*.[303]

276. [The sound *ē*] denoting contradiction,[304] question[305] and enumeration[306]
does not have the occurrence of plosives as stated above.

277. In case-relationship, too, it is like that.[307]

278. The final *ē* will be followed by *e*.[308]

279. The noun *cē* [denoting] a tree is of the same nature as *oṭu* [denoting] a tree.[309]

280. If it means *peṟṟam* ' bull ', it is necessary [that it is followed] by full *iṉ*.[310]

281. After the standing noun ending in *-ai*
the plosive will be doubled, if it is in case-relationship.[311]

282. The final [*ai*] [of words] beginning with demonstratives
has [the same] rules [as when it is followed by]
a case-suffix.[312]

283. The words *vicai, ñemai* and *namai* [denoting] trees,
those three nouns behave like the word *cē* [denoting] a tree.[313]

284. When one thinks [about it] the words *paṉai, arai* and *āvirai*
join with *am* ; scholars maintain that the final *ai*
disappears—except in *arai*—
and the consonant is preserved there.[314]

285. When *aṭṭu* ' cake of coarse sugar ' follows *paṉai* ' palmyra '
the vowel *ai* disappears and the long sound *a*
occurs in that position.[315]

286. If *koṭi* follows, the *ai* remains there ;
the occurrence of plosives will not be prevented.[316]

287. The [words denoting] month[s] and day[s] have the same rules
as mentioned before.[317]

288. The word *maḻai* ' rain ' behaves in the same way as *vaḷi*.[318]

289. Scholars maintain that, in poetry,
in *avā* ' desire ' following *vēṭkai* ' desire ',
the final *ai* with the preceding consonant is dropped
and *ṭ* must be changed to *ṇ*.[319]

290. The final *ō* is of the same nature as the long *ē*.[320]

291. [The sound *ō*] denoting contradiction, interrogation or doubt[321]
does not have the occurrence of plosives as stated above.[322]

292. The same is the case when [*ō*] suggests an implied meaning.[323]

293. It is like that also in case-relationship ;
in that position, the sound *o* occurs.[324]

294. If pronounced with *il* ' place, house ' there is no change.[325]

295. There are words [ending in *ō*] which behave [in the same ways
as when they are followed by] case-suffixes. In such cases,
the plosive becomes unchanged.[326]

296. After nouns ending in *au*
the appearance of plosives is not forbidden
either in case-relationship or in non-case relationship.
Great scholars opine that it is preferable.
to insert *u* in both cases.[327]

Comment on Chapter 7

As may be expected, this lengthy chapter on the exception to the rules concerning vowels is not so well organized as the previous one. However, a definite pattern is followed : first, rules are given for non-case relationship (*alvaḻi*) when the following word begins with plosives, nasals, semi-vowels, and vowels in this order. In these cases, the change occurring in the initial sound of the following word is described. Next are given cases where no change takes place, plus a few special cases. The case-relationship (*vēṟṟumai*) is described towards the end of the chapter. There are digressions from this procedure, but there is one single general rule which Tolkāppiyaṉār obviously considers a major rule pervading all these cases : this is the rule of the *mikutal* or ' insertion, doubling ' of the initial plosives *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*.

There are several rules (beginning with 218, but referring to some previous rules, too) which indicate that the original ending of nouns which get a nasal finally in *sandhi* might have been a nasal, * *m*/* *n*. Most of the names of trees get a nasal ; thus *puḷi* ' tamarind tree ' (245), *paṉai*

'palmyra' (284), but also some other nouns referred to in aphorisms 363 etc., will end in *-m* / *-am* in *sandhi*, and *mā* 'mango' (cf. 232) will get an *ṉ* besides *m*; we encounter forms like *piṭāampu* (230), *māantōl* / *māṉtōl* (232), *puḷiyañcōṟu* (245) etc. All these forms may in fact represent more ancient forms in *-am*; at a later stage, *-am* > *-m* > zero. What the *-am/* *-an* was is a problem; but probably we might posit an ancient nominative suffix.

Comment on 234: *DEDS ā-p-pi* 'cow-dung'; Iruḷa *a:pi* 'cow-dung'. Is the Ta. *āppi*, Iruḷa *a:pi* a post-*Tolkāppiyam* form? The comparative evidence of at least one item—Tu. *ambi*—would favour an ancient form **-āṉpi*. On the other hand, the nasal has disappeared also from Go. Konda, Pe. Mand. Kuvi forms, and *Puṟam* 249.14 has also *āppi* without the nasal.

Comment on 235: Cf. K. S. Kamaleswaran, 'The Comparative Treatment of Final—ā ~ a in Tamil Nouns', *Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics III*, Annamalainagar, 1971. The commentators give two variant forms for a number of words: *kaṉā* varies with *kaṉavu* 'dream', *irā* with *iravu* 'night', *puṟā* with *puṟavu* 'dove', *cuṟā* with *cuṟavu* 'shark'. If two words form a *dvandva* compound, a short *a* will reappear; *irāappakal* 'day and night' (cf. aphor. 224). This would probably indicate that what is involved here is a prosodic alternation: **kaṉāa*: **kaṉavu*, i.e. CVCVV: CVCVCV, or, still better, 3 vowel-peaks in *kaṉāa* with 3 vowel-peaks in *kaṉavu*.

Comment on 273: *ciṟappu* is definitely better translated here as 'distinctiveness' than 'superiority'. These cases, as those mentioned in 274, are really cases of *aḷapeṭai* or prosodic lengthening of the two clitics *-ē* and *-ō* which are classified as *iṭaiccol* or particles. *e* and *o* do not occur as such finally in Tamil words. In fact, they are not to be reconstructed in final position for Proto-Dravidian either.

289: Tolkāppiyaṉār has stated here that *vēṭkai* + *avā* > **vēṭavā* > *vēṇavā* 'ever-increasing desire'. S. V. Shanmugam (*Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's Conception of Phonology*, 1967, p. 149) is I think right when he says that the original form might have been *vēṇ* instead of *vēḷ*, since *vēṇ* is the form which also occurs in the Brāhmī cave inscriptions. *vēṇavā* may thus be explained as *vēṇ* + *avā* and not as *vēṭkai* + *avā* which is very odd and in fact inexplicable in terms of current phonological rules. Cf. also *DED* 4548.

285: This aphorism demonstrates beautifully the 'concreteness' and the 'realism' of Tolkāppiyaṉ's analysis and description. He will not fail to observe such a 'household' item as sugar candy cooked or boiled (*aṭṭu* < *aṭu*) from palmyra (*paṉai*) toddy. In some of the apho-

risms we have precious data on individual lexical items : thus e.g. the various terms for trees (some of them unfortunately hardly identifiable), or such rare words as *āṭūu* ‘ male ’ which occurs, besides six occurrences in *Tolkāppiyam*, only twice in the corpus of ancient Tamil texts : in *Patiṟṟup.* 86.4 and in *Akam* 301.12. Though *makaṭūu* ‘ female, woman, wife ’ found its way into *DED* 3768, *āṭūu* is not mentioned, and it should be included in any future edition under 342.

FOOTNOTES (*To Chapter VII*)

[220] E.g. *maka* + *kuṟitu* > *makakkuṟitu*.

[221] *viṉaiyeñcukiḷavi* = gerund (alias verbal participle, adverbial participle, absolutive).

[222] *uvamakkiḷavi*.

[223] *cuṭṭiṉiṟuti*.

[224] Exx. : *uṇa* + *koṇṭāṉ* > *uṇakkoṇṭāṉ*; *pulipōlakkoṉṟāṉ*; *koḷḷenakkoṇṭāṉ*; a+*koṟṟaṉ*> *akkoṟṟaṉ* ; *āṅkakkoṇṭāṉ*.

[225] Exx. : *aññālam*, *innūl*, *ammaṇi*.

[226] Exx. : a + *yāḻ* > *avyāḻ* ; *a* + *vaḷai* > *avvaḷai*.

[227] Exx. : *a* + *āṭai* > *avvāṭai* ; *a* + *ilai* > *avvilai*.

[228] *ceyyuḷuḷ* ; e.g. *āyiru tiṇai* = *anta iru tiṇai* (*Tol. Col.* 1).

[229] E.g. *cāvakkutti* > *cākkutti* (*Kalittokai* 105.35) ‘ wounded to die ’.

[230] *uvamakkiḷavi*.

[231] *viḷinilaikkiḷavi*.

[232] *viyaṅkōṭkiḷavi*.

[233] *ēval*.

[234] *peyareñcukiḷavi*.

[235] Exx. : 1. *poṉ aṉṉa kutirai* 2. *ūra* (voc. of *ūraṉ*) *koḷ* 3. *uṇmaṉa kutirai* 4. *celka kutirai* 5. *uṇṭa kutirai* 6. *uṇṇiya koṇṭāṉ* 7. *amma koṟṟā* 8. *pala kutirai*.

[236] E.g. *vāḻiya koṟṟā* > *vāḻikoṟṟā*.

[237] *nīṭṭam*.

[238] i.e. of *amma*, e.g. *ammā koṟṟā*.

[239] E.g. instead of *palacila* one may have *palāañcilāa meṉmaṉār pulavar* ; the *pala cila* is considered a *cevveṇ*, i.e. enumeration of series of items with the conjunctive particle ‘ understood ’. It seems that *ceyyuḷ* ‘ poetry ’ has preserved here some older forms (*palām*, *cilām*).

[240] That is, *pal* followed by *pala*, and *cil* by *cila* will result in *paṟpala* and *ciṟcila* ; in this case, they are *toṭar al*, i.e. ‘ not *toṭar* ’.

[241] The optional nature of the change is implied by the term *uṟaḻa* (cf. *TL* I, p. 482), i.e. *palapala* ~ *palappala*, *cilacila* ~ *cilaccila*.

[242] i.e., if the standing word is a noun ending in-*a*, and is followed by *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, the same rule applies as in non-case relationship (aphorism 204), e.g. *iruviḷakkoṟṟaṉ* (*Iḷam.*).

[243] *marappeyarkkiḷavi*.

[244] E.g. *viḷa* + *kōṭu* > *viḷa-ṅ-kōṭu* ; *viḷa-ñ-cetil* ; *viḷa-n-tōl* ; *viḷa-m-pū*. For further discussion, cf. Comment.

[245] i.e., *maka-v-iṉ kai* ; *makaviṉ cevi*, *makaviṉ talai*, *makaviṉ puṟam*.

[246] E.g. *makattukai* or *makattuppuṟam*.

[247] E.g. *palavaṟṟukkōṭu*, *palavaṟṟuppuṟam*.

[248] E.g. *tārā* + *ciṟitu* > *tārācciṟitu*.

[249] *viṉaiyeñcu kiḷavi*.

[250] E.g. *uṇṇākkoṇṭāṉ*, *uṇṇāppōyiṉāṉ*.

[251] *irupeyarttokaimoḻi*, corresp. to Skt. *dvandva*.

[252] E.g. *arāapāmpu* ‘ snake [and] serpent ’, *irāapakal* ‘ day [and] night ’.

[253] Exx. : *ā ciṟitu* ‘ the cow is small ’, *mā tītu* ‘ the beast is evil ’, *urā cel* ‘ go, villager ’, *yā ciṟiya* ‘ which things are small ? ’, *uṇṇā kutirai* ‘ horses don’t eat ’, *kēṇmiyā koṟṟā* ‘ listen, koṟṟa ! ’, *uṇkā tēvā* ‘ will I eat, o god ? ’ (accord. to Nacc. : *yāṉ uṇpēṉō*).

[254] E.g. *tārā* + *kāl* > *tārākkāl*.

[255] E.g. *palā*+*pū*>*palāapū* ; a ‘ single-letter word ’ (*ōreḻuttu moḻi*) is e.g. *kā* ‘ grove ’ ; hence *kā* + *puṟam* > *kāapuṟam*.

[256] i.e., *irā* ‘ night ’ + *kūttu* ‘ dance ’ > *irākkūttu*.

[257] E.g. *nilāttucceṉṟāṉ* ‘ He went in the moonlight ’.

[258] E.g. *yāaṅkōṭu*, *piṭāantōl*, *taḷāampū*.

[259] That is, instead of e.g. *piṭāantōl*, it is a admissible to say *piṭāattōl*.

260 E.g. *mā* + *tōl* > *māantōl* (i.e. ,the respective nasal is inserted, accord. to rule 230); besides, *mā* + *tōl* > *māṉtōl*; *ā* + *talai* > *āṉtalai*.

261 i.e., the word *āṉ* 'cow' gets a as in *āṉaney* 'cow's ghee'.

262 The wording of this aphorism is very strange and not clear. It is usually interpreted as follows : *āṉ* + *pi* > *ā-p-pi* 'cow-dung' cf. *DED* 283 + *DED* 3455. Cf. comment.

263 i.e., e.g. *puṟavup puṟattaṉṉa* 'like the back of a dove' (*Kuṟuntokai* 274) when *puṟavu* alternates with *purā*. Cf. comment.

264 E.g. *kiḷi* + *kāl* > *kiḷikkāl* etc.

265 Examples : *iṉi-k-koṇṭāṉ*, *aṉi-k-koṇṭāṉ* ; *tēṭi-k-koṇṭāṉ* ; *i-k-koṟṟaṉ*.

266 *toṉṟiyal maruṅkiṉ cevyuḷuḷ*. Accord. to commentators (and actual usage) this applies also to *aṉṟi* > *aṉṟu*.

267 In other words : the demonstrative *i* behaves like the demonstrative *a* : e.g. *i* + *nūl* > *innūl*, i + *yāḻ* > *ivyāḻ* etc., cf. aphorisms 206-9.

268 i.e., *p* is inserted, *tūṇippatakku*. We would expect **tūṇiyē patakku* accord. to 165.

269 *nāḻi* + *uri* > *nāṭuri* ; *nāḻi* is the eighth part of a marcal ; *uri* is the sixteenth part of a marcal.

270 i.e., e.g. *paṉiyattucceṉṟāṉ* or *paṉiyirceṉṟāṉ* 'he went in the dewy season'.

271 *pūtakkiḷavi* ; *pūtam* 'one of the five elements' ; *vaḷi* = *kāṟṟu*.

272 E.g. *vaḷiyattuppōyiṉāṉ*'/*vaḷiyirpōyiṉāṉ*.

273 Cf. *DED* 525 *uti*, *oti* 'Indian ash tree, *Odina wodier*'. *uti* + *kōṭu* > *utiṅkōṭu*.

274 To sum up ; *puḷi* in the sense of 'tamarind tree' has *-am*, e.g. *puḷiyantōl* 'the bark of the tamarind tree' ; *puḷi* 'sour taste' has either nasal or stop ; *puḷiñcōṟu* or *puḷiccōṟu* 'sour rice' (i.e. rice with tamarind fruits). In other words, *puḷiyam* 'tamarind tree' : *puḷim* 'sour taste (of tamarind fruit)'.

275 Days were denoted after the constellations ; they seem to have ended in *-i*, *-ai* (287) and *-m* (332). Iḷampūraṇar gives as example for this aphorism *paraṇiyāṟ ceṉṟāṉ* etc., i.e. *paraṇi* (in *Paripāṭal* XI. 2 we have a native Tamil word *vēḻam* 'elephant') 'the second lunar asterism', and Naccinārkkiṉiyar adds *cōti* 'fifteenth asterism'.

276 E.g. *āṭikkuppōyiṉāṉ*. Names of months (*tiṅkaḷ*) ended in *-i* and *-ai* (287). In the earliest strata of Tamil texts, we find the following : *tai* (*Kuṟ*. 196.4), *māci* (*Patiṟṟup*. 59.2), *paṅkuṉi* (*Puṟam* 229.5), *cittirai* (*Cilapp*. 5.64), *āṭi* (*Cilapp*. 23.133).

277 E.g. *ti* + *ciṟitu* > *tīcciṟitu*.

278 *iṭakkar*, cf. *iṭakku* (*iṭa* v.?) 'indecent, rude, vulgar, obscene speech or word' ; accord. to commentators, *pi* 'dung'.

279 i,e., eg. *ni periyai* ; *mī kaṇ* ; *pī ciṟitu*.

280 E.g. *mī.p-pal*. 250-2 deal with non-case relationship.

281 E.g. *ī* + *talai* > *īttalai* 'the head of a fly'.

282 I.e. *nī* + *kai* > *niṉ kai*. 253-4 deal with case-relationship.

283 E.g. *kaṭu-k-kuṟitu*.

284 *u-k-koṟṟaṉ*.

285 Examples : *uññāṉ*, *unnūl*, *ummaṇi*, *uvyāl*, *uvvaṭai*.

286 E.g. *atu kuṟitu*.

287 i.e., *atu* + *aṉṟu* > *atāaṉṟu* ; *atu* + *ai* > *atai*.

288 This rule applies the doubling rule to case-relation sandhi : e.g. *kaṭu* + *kay* > *kaṭukkāy*.

289 E.g. *eru* + *kuḷi* > *eru-v-aṅ-kuḷi* ; *eru* + *cēṟu* > *eruvañcēṟu* etc. ; *ceṟu* + *kaḷam* > *ceruv-ak-kaḷam* ; *ceru* + *cēṉai* > *ceruvaccēṉai*.

290 E.g. *paḻū-u-p pallaṉṉa paruvukirp pāvaṭi*.

291 *oṭu*, *Cleisthanthus collinus* ; round-leaved discous feather-foil (*TL*). Ex. : *oṭu* + *kōṭu* > *oṭuṅkōṭu*.

292 i.e., *atu*, *itu*, *utu* get the empty-morph *aṉ* : *atu* + *kōṭu* > *ataṉkōṭu*.

293 *koṇmū* + *kaṭitu* > *koṇmūkkaṭitu*.

294 E.g. *uṇṇū* + *koṇṭāṉ* > *unnūkkoṇṭāṉ* (gerund) ; *kaitū* + *tēvā* > *kattūttēvā* (2nd. p. finite verb : imperative ?).

295 i.e., the *Auslaut* *-ū* behaves like the ending *-ā* : *koṇmū* + *kuḻām* > *koṇmūkkuḻām* etc.

296 i.e., long monosyllabic open words in *-ū* and disyllabic words with a preceding short syllable in *-ū* will obtain the augment *u* : *tū* + *kuṟai* > *tūukkuṟai* ; *uṭū* + *kuṟai* > *uṭūu-kuṟai*.

297 i.e., *pū* + *koṭi* > *pūkkoṭi* and not **pūukkoṭi*. Though the aphorism does not mention a nasal insertion, Iḷam. also quotes *pūṅkoṭi* etc. as a possibility (in analogy with *oṭuṅkōṭu* etc.? Cf. 244 and 263).

298 i.e., the word *ū* behaves in *sandhi* like *ā*, that it takes *ṉ* after it ; e.g. *ū*+*kuṟai* > *ūṉkuṟai*

299 i.e., *ū* + *kuṟai* > *ūṉ* *-ak-kuṟai*.

300 Ex. : *āṭūuviṉkai*, *makaṭūuviṉpuṟam*.

301 Cf. comment. Exx. : *ēekoṇṭāṉ*, *ōokoṇṭāṉ*.

302 Cf. comment. Exx. : *yāṉēe koṇṭēṉ* 'I certainly took' ; *yāṉōo koṇṭēṉ* 'It was I who took'.

303 E.g. *cē* + *kaṭitu* > *cēkkaṭitu*.

304 *māṟukoleccam* : e.g. *yāṉē ceṉṟēṉ* 'But I went'.

305 *viṉā* : e.g. *niyē ceṉṟāy* 'You went, didn't you ?'

306 *eṇ* : e.g. *nīrē tīyē* 'water, fire'.

[307] Ex. : *ē + kaṭumai > ēkkaṭumai.*
[308] E.g. *ēe-k-kōṭṭil.*
[309] E.g. *cēṅkōṭu.*
[310] *cē* has two meanings ; if it refers to a tree, it follows the rule of the nasal, if it refers to a bull, it receives the empty-morph *-in* : *cē-v-iṉ-kōṭu.*
[311] E.g. *yāṉai + cevi > yāṉaiccevi.*
[312] i.e., *avai + kōṭu > avai-y-aṟṟu-k-kōṭu.* Cf. aphorisms 123 and 178.
[313] For *ñemai* and *namai* (*Anogeissus latifolia*) cf. *DED* 2974. Exx. : *vicaiṅkōṭu, ñemaiñ-ceṭil, namaimpū.*
[314] See comment. Exx. : *paṉai + kāy > paṉaṅkāy* ; *arai + kōṭu > araiyaṅkōṭu* ; *āvirai + tōl > āvirantōl. paṉai,* ' palmyra ' ; *arai* is unspecified, but may refer to aracu ' pipal ' ; *āvirai Cassia auriculata,* tanner's senna.
[315] See also comment. *paṉai + aṭṭu > pāṉāaṭṭu.*
[316] *paṉai + koṭi > paṉaikkoṭi.*
[317] This refers to aphorisms 248 and 249, and seems to be superfluous here.
[318] Cf. aphorism 243 : e.g. *maḻaiyattucceṉṟāṉ* or *maḻayirceṉṟāṉ.*
[319] Cf. comment. Ex. : *vēṭkai + avā > vēṇavā.*
[320] Cf. aphorisms 222, 265, 275. Ex. *ō + kaṭitu > ōkkaṭitu.*
[321] *aiyam,* dubitative *-ō.*
[322] Exx. : *yāṉō koṇṭēṉ* ' But I took ' ; *nīyō koṇṭāy* ' Did you really take ? ' ; *pattō patiṉoṉṟō* ' Ten or eleven ? '
[323] So-called *oḻiyicai,* as in *koḻalōkoṇṭāṉ.*
[324] That is, e.g., *ōokaṭumai,* like *ēekaṭumai.*
[325] That is, the word *kō* ' king ' behaves exceptionally when it occurs with *il* ' place ' since *o* is not inserted : *kō + il > kōyil/kōvil* ' palace, temple '.
[326] This again refers to *kō* which may have the empty-morph *-oṉ* : *kō + kai > kōoṉkai.*
[327] i.e., after the two words *kau* ' seizing ' and *vau* ' snatching ', one may either double the plosive or insert *u,* but the second alternative is preferable : *kau + kaṭitu > kauvukkaṭitu.*

The Tamil Aspectual System: A Transformational Grammar

HAROLD F. SCHIFFMAN

CHAPTER II

SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF TAMIL ASPECT DEEP STRUCTURE

We have seen that the previous analyses of aspect as a grammatical category have assumed that what is semantically aspectual is also grammatically aspectual, i.e., that there is a semantic-grammatical unity for the category of aspect. According to these analyses, one would expect to be able to find some element in the deep structure of various languages corresponding to ' aspect '. This, as we have seen, is not the case. Nor is it possible to find some other category, corresponding to aspect and, e.g., tense, or aspect and mode, in the deep structure of any of these languages.

Another problem with this analysis is that in any given language that we have examined, there are always bits and pieces of what is semantically aspectual left over after grammatical aspect is dealt with. Moreover, in no language that we have examined do we find that aspect is at all equivalent to aspect in any other, whereas with a category like tense, there is general agreement between various languages as to whether a narrated event occurred anterior, simultaneous to, or posterior to the speech event. Students of foreign languages generally have little trouble learning when to use which tense marker in the new language ; but some students, speakers of English, never master, e.g., the Russian aspectual system, although both languages exhibit a category which has been called aspect grammatically. Furthermore, we have also seen that the category ' aspect ' may exhibit many irregularities even within a given language. For instance, ' sudden inchoative ' may be realized in English as *burst out* as in

(78) Roberta burst out laughing when Alfred appeared.

but it may also be realized as *suddenly begin* in

(79) Roberta suddenly began to laugh when Alfred appeared. Sentences (78) and (79) are semantically equivalent, at least in my dialect, yet are structurally so different that we cannot assign them the same deep structure in the sense of Chomsky (1965). That is, *burst out* and *suddenly begin* seem to mean the same thing, especially if used with verbs denoting explosive, audible, and perhaps emotionally charged activity, yet it is difficult to see how there could be one and only one deep structure for both sentences (78) and (79), from which both derived. Deep structure, as defined by Chomsky (1965), is level at which lexical items are inserted; (78) and (79), even if they have the same deep structure, are only pre-lexically, i.e., semantically related, since it is difficult to see how *burst out* could be derived from *suddenly begin* or vice-versa.

The point is, in any case, that *burst out* is only possible as a lexical realization for ' sudden inchoative ' with verbs like laugh, cry, sing, applaud, and perhaps a few others, so that with all other verbs, only *suddenly begin* is acceptable :

(80) Roberta suddenly began to quote Shakespeare.

(81) * Roberta burst out quoting Shakespeare.

Problems with Deep Structure

The problem seems to be one having to do with the concept of deep structure as elaborated by Chomsky in *Aspects* (Chomsky 1965), and by Katz and Postal (Katz and Postal 1964). Lakoff (Lakoff 1967) has outlined and summarized the four conditions which seem to be basic to define deep structure, as used in those works.[24]

(i) Basic grammatical relations (e.g., subject-of, object-of) are represented at this level in terms of fundamental grammatical categories (e.g. S.NP. VP. N.V.).

It is assumed that these relations are defined in terms of phrase structure rules involving the categories. Since one of these categories is S(entence) this view of deep structure implicitly defines a notion akin to what in traditional grammar are called a simple sentence and (equivalent to Chomsky's earlier notion of a ' kernel sentence ', i.e. a S(entence) that does not have any other S(entence) embedded in it.

(ii) The correct generalizations about selectional restrictions and co-occurrence can be stated at this level.

The assumption here is that once the correct basic-grammatical relations of a sentence are known, then the correct generalizations about selectional restrictions and other co-occurrence relations among the elements of the sentence can be stated naturally.

(iii) Lexical items are assigned to their appropriate categories at this level.

This accords with the assertion that the semantic representation of a sentence is determined by the level of deep structure. Semantic interpretation rules are defined in terms of lexical semantic content (iii) and grammatical relations (i). Since selectional restrictions involve lexical items, (ii) and (iii) are interdependent.

(iv) The structures defined at this level are the input to the transformational rules.

Lakoff then goes on to show that the two sentences

(82) Seymour sliced the salami with a knife.

and

(83) Seymour used a knife to slice the salami.

must have, according to recent practice in transformational grammar, different deep structures, although they are semantically identical.

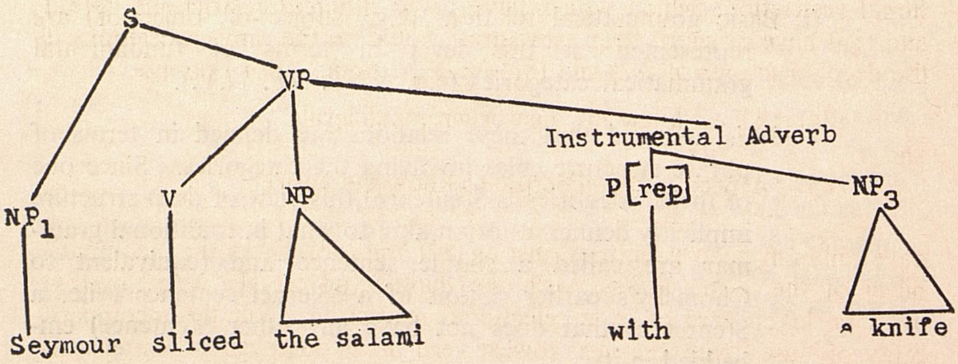

Fig. 11. Deep structure diagram of sentence (82).

Sentence (82) has the above deep structure, while sentence (83) must have the following deep structure :

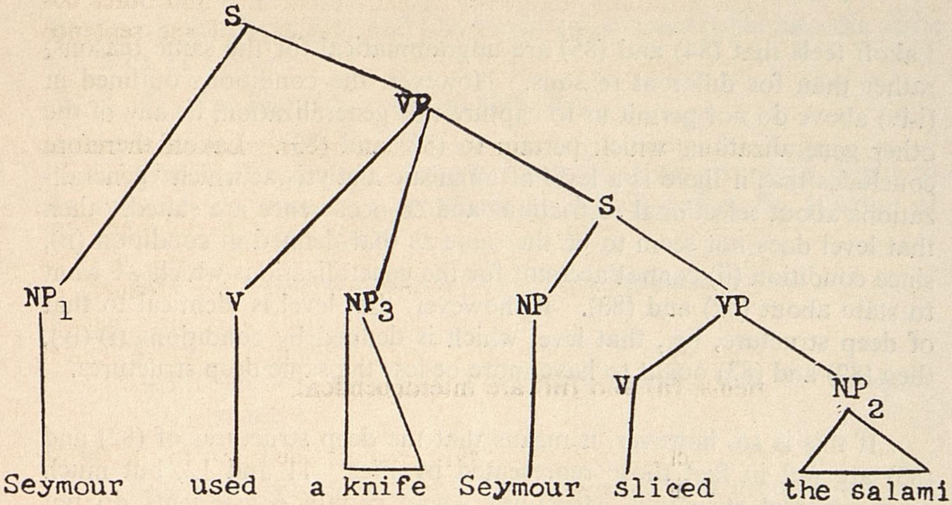

Fig. 12. Deep structure diagram of sentence (83).

Lakoff goes on to show that despite their putative different deed structures, sentences (82) and (83) share a large number of selectional restrictions, selectional restrictions which would have to be stated twice if sentences (82) and (83) indeed have different deep structures, but only once if their underlying structures are shown to be identical.

Furthermore, Lakoff shows that many of the selectional restrictions and deep structure constraints shared by (82) and (83) are difficult to state, or at least difficult to explain, if one continues to postulate that (82) and (83) have different deep structures. In other cases, certain selectional restrictions which would have to be different restrictions if (82) and (83) have different deep structures, would be the same restrictions if the deep structures of (82) and (83) were the same. For example,

(84) *Albert knew the answer with a sliderule.

and

(85) *Albert used a sliderule to know the answer.

have different deep structures, just as (82) and (83) do, so the incompatibility of the verb 'know' with the manner adverbial 'with' in (84) must be taken care of by a selectional restriction. But the incompatibility of 'use' with the next lowest verb in its complement sentence is already taken care of by a constraint needed elsewhere in English grammar, as is evidenced by the following unacceptable sentences :

(86) *I forced John to know the answer.

(87) *I remembered to know the answer.

(88) *I tried to know the answer.

Lakoff feels that (84) and (85) are ungrammatical for the same reasons, rather than for different reasons. However, the conditions outlined in (i-iv) above do not permit us to capture this generalization, or any of the other generalizations which pertain to (82) and (83). Lakoff therefore concludes that if there is a level of linguistic analysis at which ' generalizations about selectional restrictions and co-occurrence are stated, ' then that level does not seem to be the same as that defined in condition (ii), since condition (ii) cannot account for the generalizations which we want to state about (82) and (83). If, however, that level is identical to that of deep structure, i.e., that level which is defined by conditions (i)-(iv), then (82) and (83) ought to have more or less the same deep structures.

If this is so, however, it means that the deep structures of (82) and (83) are not in fact those represented by Figs. 11 and 12, but much more abstract structures, structures where certain constituents do not exist, namely the constituents which are different in Figs. 11 and 12, but which would be eliminated in favour of something else in the abstract deep structure(s) of (82) and (83). The outcome of this line of thinking is that ' there are fewer grammatical categories and grammatical relations in deep structure than had previously been though ; and seemingly simple sentences are not simple in deep structure ' (Lakoff 1967 : 24). This in itself does not destroy the level of deep structure, Lakoff points out, but does raise some serious doubts about what deep structures, or abstract deep structures, are really like.

However, the third condition (having to do with the assignment of lexical items to their appropriate categories) is also in trouble because of some examples pointed out by various writers. McCawley has argued (McCawley 1968) that some lexical insertions must be late, i.e., lexical items cannot be assigned to their appropriate categories, in some cases, until certain transformations have applied. e.g., ' former ' and ' latter ' cannot be lexically mapped until certain transformations which re-arrange noun phrases have been applied. Also, one would want to insert pronouns at a different stage than other noun phrases, because of the difficulty with ' he and he ' as compared with ' he and she '.

Bach (Bach 1967b) also finds difficulties with condition (iii) ; he gives examples of sentences with so-called restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in English, such as :

(89) Eskimos who live in igloos have lots of fun.

(90) Eskimos, who live in igloos, have lots of fun.

(91) The one who is an idiot called me up yesterday.

(92) The one, who is an idiot, called me up yesterday.[25]

Bach feels that both (91) and (92) ought to be convertible into the same sentence, i.e.,

(93) The idiot called me up yesterday.

However, Bach points out other sets of sentences which ought to be assigned the same deep structure, but which cannot be, because of the problem of lexical insertion :

(94) She wants to marry a man with a big bank account.

can be paraphrased either as

(95) There is a man with a big bank account that she wants to marry.

or as

(96) She wants there to be a man with a big bank account and that she marry him.[26]

Sentences (95) and (96) obviously have different meanings and thus we would want to assign them different deep structures. However, there is also a sentence type exemplified by :

(97) She is looking for a man with a big bank account.

This sentence is also ambiguous in the same way that (96) is, yet there are not two paraphrases of it such that (99) could be derived from both or either. i.e., we get

(98) There is a man with a big bank account that she is looking for.

but not :

(99) *She is looking for there to be a man with a big bank account.

There is, however, another sentence which seems to be semantically related to (97), namely

(100) She is *trying to find* a man with a big bank account.

Sentence (100), Bach points out, does have an embedded sentence in its surface structure, and can be paraphrased in two ways just as (94) can. With the present conception of the lexicon, we cannot state that there is any relationship between (97) and (100) in their deep structures, but only in their meanings. If we changed the concept of the lexicon, i.e., if we abandoned condition (iii), we could state the relationship between (97)

and (100) and say that they have the same deep structures. As Bach puts it,

> Once we change our conception of the lexicon as a set of entries which can be inserted in the place of individual complex symbols occurring in the deep structures of sentences to that of a set of transformational mappings of parts of phrase markers into phonological representation, there is nothing to prevent us from assigning the same deep structures to [(97)] and [(100)] and noting the fact in our lexical mappings that a structure underlying the phrase ' try to find ' has an alternate representation as a single lexical item ' look for '. It seems to me that present theory is making the same mistake as is made in taxonomic phonemics. (Bach 1968 : 27).

Deep structure is thus felt by Bach to be as erroneous a concept as that of the taxonomic phoneme : it is not a unitary level having some sort of reality, but in fact the conditions outlined by Lakoff, to the extent that they define levels at all, actually define *different* levels which have nothing to do with each other. The boundary between semantics and syntax (deep structure) is thus shown not to exist, and selectional restrictions turn out to be semantic, rather than part of syntax.

The implications of this for the Tamil aspectual system are that we are now freed to examine aspectual notions, not in terms of their lexical relationships, but in terms of the semantic features of the various aspect markers. We should now be able to examine whether aspectual features, in Bach's terms, can be mapped transformationally from ' parts of phrase markers into phonological representations ', after certain transformations have applied. Such a proposal ought to allow us to state that Tamil sentences (71) and (73) are actually more closely related than it previously seemed, because (completive) is mapped phonologically as /āka/ in one and /vitu/ in the other.

Lakoff and Bach have both noted that verbs and adjectives can be derived from the same source. This is not so much of a problem in Tamil, since almost any transformational theory can handle all but a small number of Tamil adjectives as being derived from verbs. But with a theory that permits transformations that apply before lexical insertion, *all* Tamil adjectives can now be handled as being derived from ' pro-verbs ' or ' contentives '. McCawley and Lakoff have observed (McCawley : in Jacobs and Rosenbaum, 1970 ; Lakoff : in remarks delivered at the Texas Conference on Language Universals, April 15, 1967) that the five remaining categories, namely sentence, NP, VP, conjunction, and contentive, correspond almost exactly to the categories of a version of symbolic logic. If one accepts Fillmore's proposal (Fillmore 1968) that VP is also a derived category, one is left with a one-to-one matching

of the categories sentence, NP, conjunction, contentive to the categories of symbolic logic.

Semantic Structures

Thus, following McCawley, we can treat a sentence as consisting of a proposition and the indices identifying the terms of that proposition. Rose and McCawley have proposed[27] that tense may be assigned the status of a predicate of its own, which together with a proposition forms another proposition. If we extract tense from the verb, we can just as easily call propositions VP's, since propositions consisting of contentives and their terms are very similar to VP's in less abstract structures. This means that previous analyses of ' aspect ' and ' mode ' as basic categories of the VP or sentence can also be abandoned, since aspectual or modal notions can also be considered to be separate propositions.

This is not to say that aspect markers do not assume constituent status at some stage between underlying structure and surface structure. It is only that in the deepest structure, before lexical insertion, aspectual notions are propositions separate from tense and other features of the verb, or that which eventually becomes a verb.

The following structure may represent the meaning of the sentence

(101) The man killed the woman.

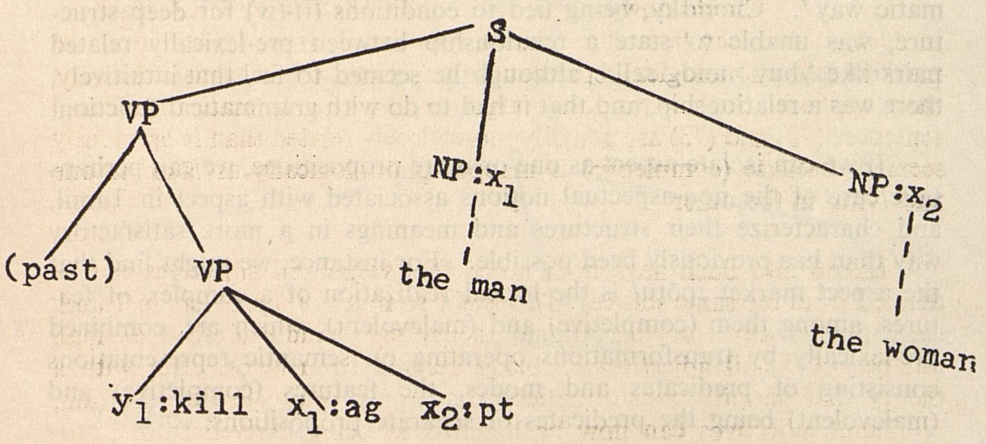

Fig. 13. Semantic structure diagram of sentence (101)

Since this diagram represents the structure of the sentence before lexical insertion, terms like y and x_1 and x_2 represent the referential indices which are eventually replaced lexically by the lexical items ' kill,' ' man ', and ' woman '. The role of the terms, i.e., ' agent ' or ' patient '

is identified with the contentive, that is, ' the man ', x_1, is the agent of the contentive ' kill ', and the ' woman ' is the patient of that contentive. By a set of transformational rules, the agent is eventually realized as the grammatical subject of the verb, the patient as the object of the verb, tense is united with the VP ' kill ' and assigned the phonetic shape ' -ed ' the lexical entries are assigned to their terms and the surface structure of (101) is derived.

It is important to note that the notions ' agent ' and ' patient ' are not the same as ' subject ' and ' object ' of the verb, respectively, since the subject and object would be different if the structure in Fig. 13 were realized as, e.g.,

(102) The woman was killed by the man.

although the agent and the patient would not change.[28] Furthermore, pairs of lexical items like ' buy ' and ' sell ', ' lend ' and ' borrow ' may be only different lexical realizations of the same or similar underlying structure, with a different ' focus ', or with a different additional proposition. What this different proposition is exactly is not clear, although native speakers of English recognize some such relationship.

It is interesting to note that Chomsky (1965 : 162-3) struggled with such pre-lexically related sentences and concluded that there is a need ' for an even more abstract notion of grammatical function and grammatical relation than any that has been developed so far, in any systematic way '. Chomsky, being tied to conditions (i)-(iv) for deep structure, was unable to state a relationship between pre-lexically related pairs like ' buy ' and ' sell ', although he seemed to feel that intuitively, there was a relationship, and that it had to do with grammatical function.

If we can isolate aspect as one or more propositions, we can perhaps take care of the non-aspectual notions associated with aspect in Tamil, and characterize their structures and meanings in a more satisfactory way than has previously been possible. For instance, we might find that the aspect marker /pōṭu/ is the lexical realization of a complex of features, among them (completive) and (malevolent), which are combined pre-lexically by transformations operating on semantic representations consisting of predicates and modes, the features (completive) and (malevolent) being the predicates of separate propositions.

Lakoff (1967) has discussed one aspectual notion, [inchoative], in the deep structures of sentences like

(104) It came about that the sauce was thick.

(105) The sauce became thick.

(106) The sauce got thick.

(107) The sauce thickened.

and concluded that all of them had a deep structure like the following :

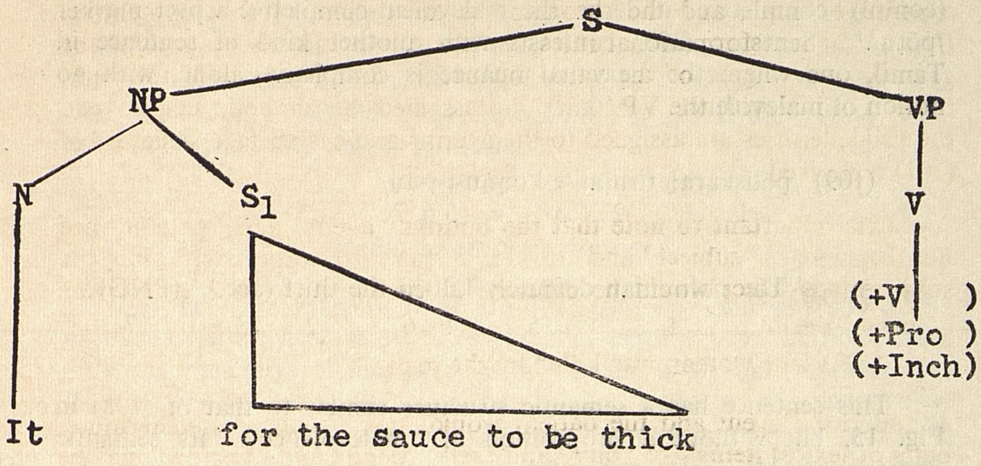

Fig. 14. Deep structure diagram of sentences (104-7)

The meaning of the verbs ' come about ', ' become ', ' get ', and the suffix ' -en ' is contained in the proverb in this structure.

In Tamil, extracting aspect and other semantic features associated with it, and making separate propositions of all of them, we can consider the following sentence to have the following semantic structure :

(108) /pōlīskāraṉ tiruṭaṉ-e koṉṉu-pōṭ-ṭ-āṉ/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

' The policeman kill-ed the thief (acc.) in-cold- blood (PNG) '
1 4 6 2 3 5 7

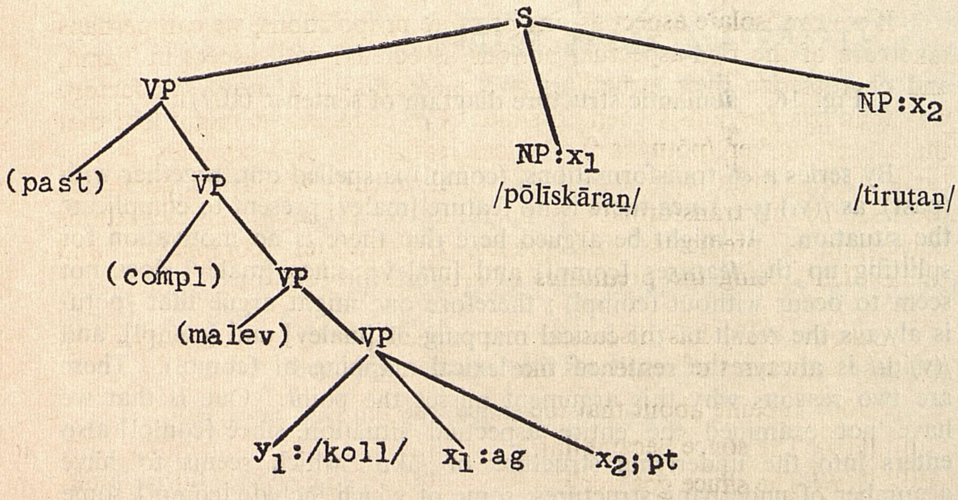

Fig. 15. Semantic structure diagram of sentence (108).

In this structure, the semantic features (malev) 'malevolent', and (compl) 'completive' underlie the malevolent-completive aspect marker /pōṭu/.[29] Sentence (108) contrasts with another kind of sentence in Tamil, one where the aspectual nuance is completive alone, with no notion of malevolence.

(109) /pōlīskāraṉ tiruṭaṉ-e koṉṉu-ṭ-ṭ-āṉ/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The policeman definitely kill-ed the thief (acc.) (PNG)'
1 5 4 6 2 3 7

This sentence has a semantic structure similar to that of (108) in Fig. 15, but without a proposition of 'malevolence'. Its semantic structure can be represented as follows :

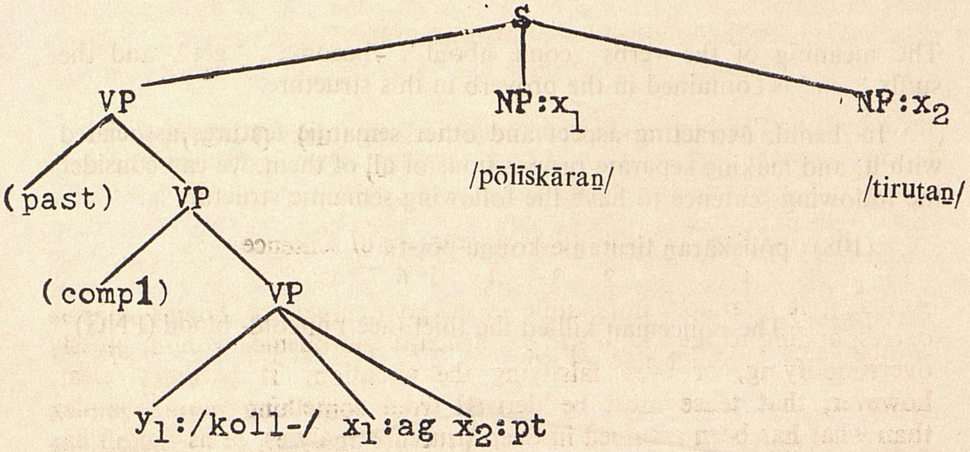

Fig. 16. Semantic structure diagram of sentence (109)

By series a of transformations, (compl) is spelled out, together with (past), as /(vi) ṭṭ-/, since there is no feature [malev] present to complicate the situation. It might be argued here that there is no motivation for splitting up the features [compl] and [malev], since [malev] does not seem to occur without (compl) ; therefore one might argue that /pōṭu/ is always the result of the lexical mapping of [malev] and [compl], and /(v)iṭu/ is always the result of the lexical mapping of (compl). There are two reasons why this argument misses the point. One is that we have not examined the entire aspectual situation, since [compl] also enters into the underlying structure of /āku/, which seems to have a number of underlying structures, some of which include [compl], some of which include [non-agentive], [finality], and perhaps some others, so

that it is quite clear that the various features must be handled separately in many cases. The other reason is that once the level of deep structure is shown not to exist, there is no reason to continue acting as if it still did. That is, there is no need to provide deep structure representations with lexical items inserted if they reveal nothing about underlying structures of semantically similar sentences.

Ambiguities and Vagueness

Beyond these reasons, there are other factors, such as some of the problems with tense, where it seems that certain tense markers have different meanings when used with certain aspectual markers. In Russian, as we have seen from Jakobson's discussion of aspect, perfectivity plus present tense marker equals future meaning. In Tamil, we have sentences like (58), where 'future' is present in form, although not in meaning :

(58) /payyaṉ paṭicci-kiṭṭ-irunt-iru-pp-āṉ/
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

'The boy might have been read-ing (fut) (PNG.)'
1 5 4 3 2 (3) 6 7

[Cf. Fig. 7 for the surface structure of sentence (58).]

Actually, it is almost impossible to assign numbers to English glosses corresponding to the Tamil surface structure morphemes without grossly oversimplifying, or even falsifying the situation. It becomes clear, however, that tense must be derived from something more complex than what has been assumed in deep structure analyses, or as Lakoff has put it, 'seemingly simple sentences are not simple' in their deepest structure (Lakoff 1967 : 24).

For instance, a sentence like

(110) John beat his wife every day.

could have two very different underlying structures, if we interpreted it to mean either (111) or (112) :

(111) John beat (the woman who later became) his wife every day.

(112) John beat his (present) wife everyday.

Similarly, a sentence like

(113) Our house on Elm Street was very old-fashioned.

is both ambiguous as to whether the house *still is* old-fashioned, and is also vague in a number of other ways, if we interpret it in some of the following ways :

(114) That which was our house on Elm Street was very old-fashioned (but isn't any more since we remodelled it).

(115) That which was our house on Elm Street was very old-fashioned (and still is except that we don't own it any more).

(116) That which was our house on Elm Street was very old-fashioned (but it no longer exists, having burned down in 1951).

It seems that there are ambiguities in sentence (113) as to whether one is referring to *our house now* versus *our house then, on Elm Street now* versus *on Elm Street then* and *old-fashioned now* versus *old-fashioned then*, such that different semantic structures would have to be set up for (113) in its various readings (114)-(116), with tense provided differently in the different propositions in each one. It might be argued that sentence (113) is not ambiguous in these ways, but only vague or non-committal, in the same way that (113) is non-committal as to whether the house is white, had a flat roof, or was located next to a meat market. If we examine comparable sentences in Tamil, however, we find that relative clauses are specified for tense, where in English the tense-marked verb (along with *which* or *that*) may be deleted, causing ambiguity. This is especially true in cases where, with aspectual markers having the notion ' continued relevance ' such as /iru/, or ' future relevance ', such as /vay/, we must specify which elements have the continued or future relevance, i.e., whether the terms, the propositions, or some of both are involved.

Another example of the saliency of this point for Tamil is that the following sentence in English can have a number of translations in Tamil. The English sentence is ambiguous as to tense, but the Tamil sentences are not.

(117) Tell the man from Mysore about the scorpion in his suitcase.

This English sentence does not specify whether the man *is* from Mysore or *was* from Mysore, or *comes* or *came* from Mysore ; nor does it specify whether the scorpion *is* or *was* in his suitcase. In Tamil, it is necessary in relative clauses to specify not only the various verbs (i.e., it is not possible to delete them) but also the tenses of the verbs :

(118) /maysūr-lerntu vant-avar-ukku avaru peṭṭiy-le
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
irukkra tēḷe patti colluṅka/
9 10 11 12

‘ Tell (to) the man (who) *came* from Mysore about the
12 5 4 3 2 1 11

scorpion (which) *is* in his suitcase.’
10 9 8 6 7

In sentence (118), by changing the tense of element (3) to present, and the tense of element (9) to past, we can get ‘ the man who *comes* from Mysore ’ and ‘ the scorpion which *was* in his suitcase ’. (See Fig. 17). It is clear that the English sentences have something deleted, not only the relative markers ‘ which ’ and ‘ who ’, but verbs with tense, or tense alone. If we substitute for sentence (118) in English the semantically similar sentence

(119) Tell the man from Mysore about the scorpion that is in his suitcase.

it becomes clearer that this ambiguity in English surface structure is not present in the underlying structure. In sentence (119), the *that* clause requires tense to be specified one way or another, whereas in (118), no tense is specified. If we want to state that (118) and (119) are related in some way, we obviously have to show that they have similar abstract structures, and that the main difference is evidenced in the surface structure, not in the abstract structure.

Ofcourse, one of the most important and interesting questions raised by the issue of tense specification in underlying structures is that of whether there is a need for a copula and a verb ‘ have ’ in deepest representations. Bach (1967a) has discussed this for English and for languages in general, and concludes that the copula and have can be predicted from the deep structure of the base component in English. With a new conception of the underlying structure of a language, it is necessary to re-examine Bach’s arguments, although it is quite possible that they will be valid for semantic structure, too.

But what is interesting and important for Tamil is the phonetic similarity between Tamil copula /iru/ and the aspect marker /iru/, as well as the fact that the Tamil ‘ have ’ construction involves the copula /iru/ as well. Previous analyses of the various uses of /iru/ will have to be re-examined in light of the evidence that deep structure may not be necessary, since previous arguments about the copula had to do with whether it was necessary in deep structure. Tamil /iru/ ‘ be ’ only appears in certain negative constructions which parallel certain positive constructions where it is not phonetically present, but /iru/ in its meanings ‘ be located ’, as well as the aspect marker /iru/ seem to follow different rules. This seems to offer evidence, as we shall see below, that

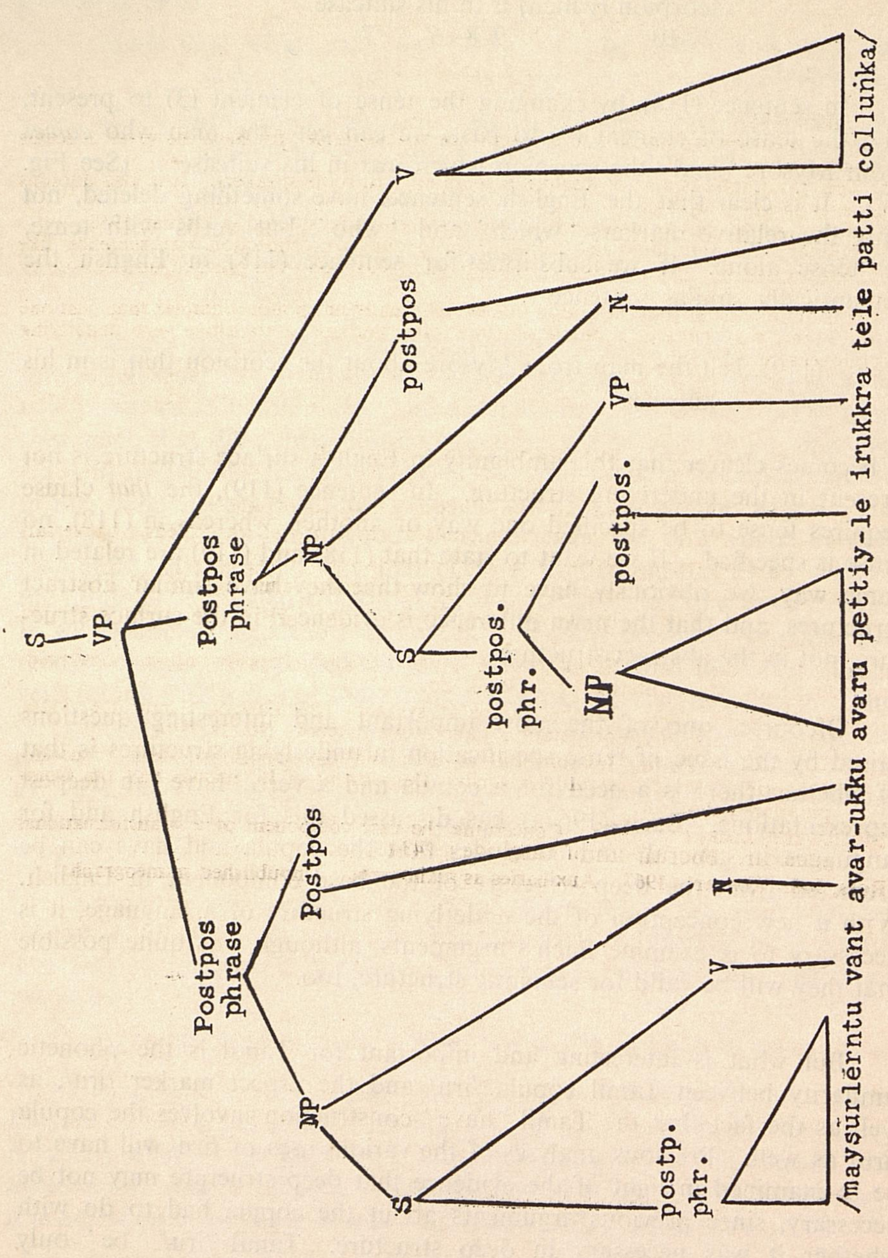

Fig. 17. Surface structure diagram of sentence (118).

these various instances of /iru/ are not derivable from the same source, since they neither mean the same thing nor do they behave the same syntactically.

FOOTNOTES

[24] Lakoff (1967 : 1).

[25] Most speakers of English find this sentence unacceptable ; for Bach, however, it seems to be acceptable.

[26] This paraphrase is also of dubious acceptability to some speakers. It is also dubious whether it paraphrases (94).

[27] Rose, 'Auxiliaries as main verbs' ; McCawley, lectures quoted in Darden 1968.

[28] Fillmore (Fillmore 1968) also mentions this problem in connection with sentences like (103) My brother was given the books by John, and (103a) John was pinched on the nose by Mary.

[29] It is quite possible that the notion (malev) is actually much more complex than just one feature—there may be, e.g., a whole sentence with, perhaps, a transitive verb underlying this one feature.

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Articulation as Described by Tamil Grammarians

K. MURUGAIYAN

Introduction

Sounds are vibrations with characteristics of frequency, intensity and duration, which produce certain sensations of audibility when impinging upon the ear. They originate from a vibrating body and differ in quality according to the nature of the vibrating body. The characteristics of speech sounds get their energy from the vibrating air column in the human vocal apparatus where the air flow is controlled in different ways by diverting a movable organ of vocal apparatus against the passive one. Thus moving the movable organs against some passive ones, one could make various types of strictures by means of which the air-stream may be made to pass through in different manners.

Articulation

The organ which moves from its rest position in order to make a stricture is called active articulator and the organ to which the one approaches is called passive articulator. The way in which the active articulator makes a stricture against the passive articulator is called manner of articulation. So, an articulation is the manner by means of which the air flow is controlled by allowing it to pass through a stricture made by the articulators. It is possible, by the articulation to get various size and shapes of air columns and different ways of air flow when the air-stream is passing through in different manners. Thus we get the vibrating air columns which give energy for the emerging of speech sounds.

Speech Organs

Lungs, trachea, larynx, oral cavity and the nasal cavity form the air column. Vocal cords, tongue, lips and uvula are the active articulators. Larynx, pharynx, palate and the teeth are the passive articulators.

The articulators may be set in such a way so that the air current may be allowed to occupy different columns and to pass through the median line of its channel without any obstruction from the glottis to the lips and beyond or completely stopped at some point or forced to squeeze through a narrow constriction or deflected from the median line of its channel through the lateral opening or the passing air current may cause any one of the supra glottal organs to vibrate.[1] This is how one gets the air column to vibrate which in turn produces numerous speech sounds.

In order to give the articulatory description of a speech sound, since it is more useful for any pedagogical purpose one must survey the speech organs and should find out their functions while producing the sounds.

Survey of the Speech organs

More than half of the human body from head to the abdomen is required for the production of speech sounds. All the speech organs are situated in this region. On the basis of their functions they could be divided into three groups of bodily organs viz., (1) the organs which help the respiratory system, (2) the organs which help the phonatory system and (3) the organs which help the articulatory system.[2] The first group causes the air flow which helps us to get energy for speech sounds, lies in the chest (*neñcu*), the second group which produces the basic energy, by interfering with the air flow, for the major sound types lies in the throat (*miṭaṟu*) and the third group which is responsible for the articulation by means of which the air flow is modulated in such a way to produce all the possible sounds lies in the head (*talai*).

Almost all the Tamil grammarians have surveyed the whole organs which involve in the production of speech sounds. But, except *Tolkāppiyar* many others, perhaps influenced by Sanskrit Grammarians have simply enumerated the speech organs without understanding the significance of their functions.

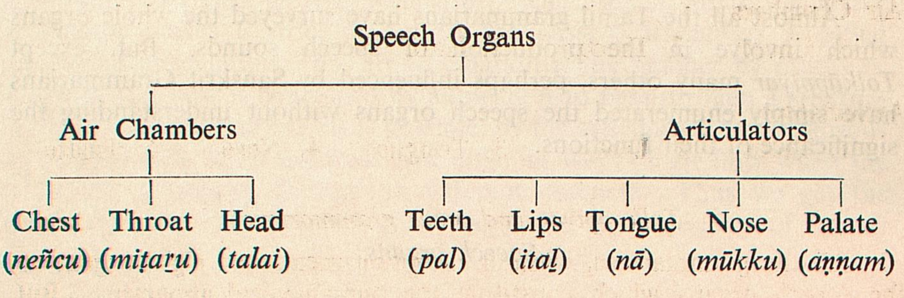
Speech organs

Tolkāppiyar enumerates eight organs of speech.[3] It appears that he divides them into two groups. The first group consists of the chest, throat and head which are functioning as respiratory, phonatory and articulatory systems respectively. The second group consists of the rest which are situated in the head namely teeth (*pal*), lips (*itaḻ*), tongue (*nā*), nose (*mūkku*) and palate (*aṇṇam*). This group plays the major role in

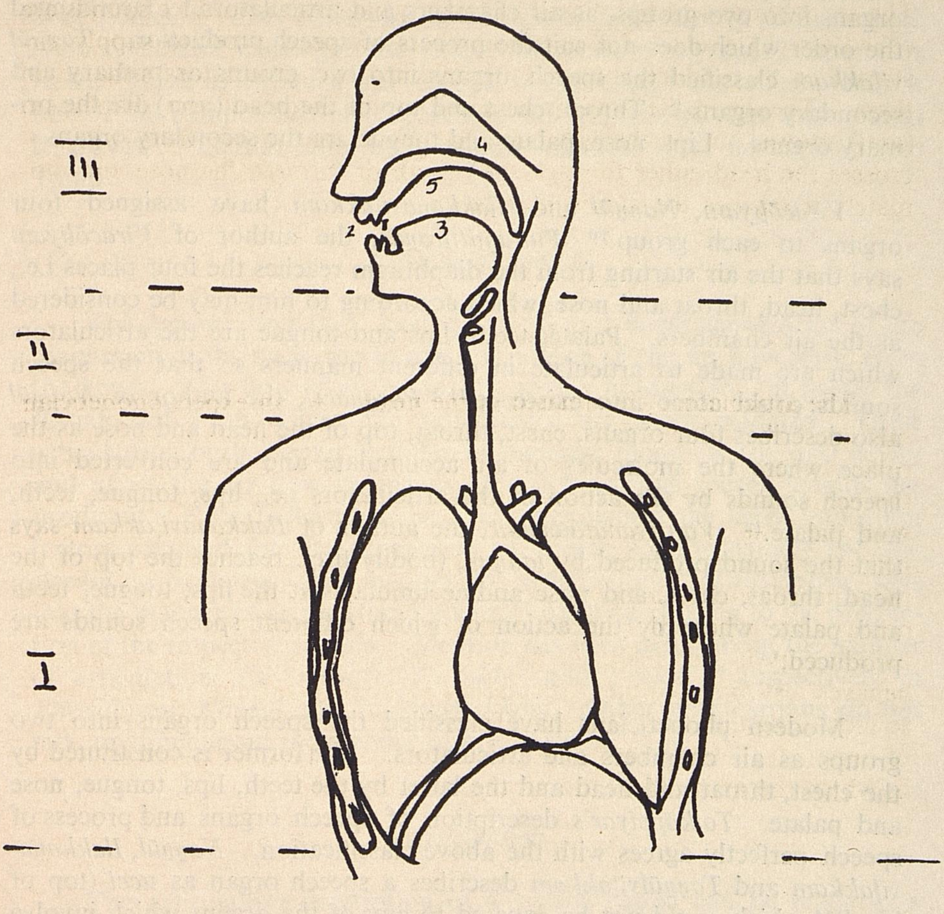
articulating speech sounds. By classifying the speech organs into two groups, *Tolkāppiyar* separates out the air columns from the articulators. The air columns which are used as primary sources to produce sounds are called air chambers. These air chambers are used either to supply air-stream or to produce sounds by employing the articulators situated in them. The air in the lungs is actuated by the action of the diaphragm (*unti*) moves out of the chest and comes to the throat from where it crosses the head either through the mouth or through the nose and ultimately it reaches the atmospheric air.

Tolkāppiyar's description

The articulators are situated in the head. As an expert phonetician and great physiologist *Tolkāppiyar* names the articulators in a beautiful order as they are arranged in the head. He starts his descriptions from the teeth where he might have intended the upper teeth which is contact with the lower lip produce speech sounds [' V '].[4] The lips are stated next to the upper teeth. They produce '*p*, *m*, *u*'. Tongue which is more mobile and which produces a considerable number of speech sounds comes next in the order since it is the next articulator after the lips. The nasal cavity is also included as one among the articulators because it behaves just like the other articulators in helping for the production of sounds using the energy obtained from the air contained in the first group of organs.[6] The last in the order is the palate. This completes the circle in which the articulators are arranged in the head.



Human Vocal Apparatus



Air Chambers

1. Chest 2. Throat 3. Head

Articulators

1. Teeth 2. Lips 3. Tongue 4. Nose 5. Palate

Tolkāppiyar and other grammarians

All the grammarians, without exception mentioned eight organs as the speech organs which constitute the human vocal apparatus. But it appears that many of them do not have clear understanding of the process of speech. Though all of them have divided the speech organs into two groups on the basis of their behaviour, except *Tolkāppiyar*, others do not explain the functions of the speech organs adequately. It seems that *Tolkāppiyar* classifies the speech organs as air chambers and articulators. Chest, throat and head are the air chambers. Teeth,

lips, tongue, nose and palate are the articulators.[7] Though *kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar* also has followed the same tradition of classifying the speech organs into two groups, as air chambers and articulators.[8] He changed the order which does not suit the process of speech production. *Toṉṉūl viḷakkam* classified the speech organs into two groups as primary and secondary organs.[9] Throat, chest and top of the head (*ucci*) are the primary organs. Lips, nose, palate and tongue are the secondary organs.

Vīracōḻiyam, *Naṉṉūl* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* have assigned four organs to each group.[10] *Puttamittiraṉār*, the author of *Vīracōḻiyam* says that the air starting from the diaphragm reaches the four places i.e., chest, head, throat and nose, which according to him may be considered as the air chambers. Palate, teeth, lips and tongue are the articulators which are made to articulate in different manners so that the speech sounds could come into existence.[11] *Pavaṇanti*, the author of *Naṉṉūl* also describes four organs, chest, throat, top of the head and nose as the place where the molecules of air accumulate and are converted into speech sounds by the action of the articulators i.e., lips, tongue, teeth, and palate.[12] *Vaittiyanātatēcikar*, the author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* says that the sound produced by *utāṉaṉ*, (bodily fire), reaches the top of the head, throat, chest, and nose and accumulates at the lips, tongue, teeth and palate where by the action of which different speech sounds are produced.[13]

Modern phoneticians have classified the speech organs into two groups as air chambers and articulators. The former is constituted by the chest, throat and head and the latter by the teeth, lips, tongue, nose and palate. *Tolkāppiyar's* description of speech organs and process of speech perfectly agrees with the above classification. *Naṉṉūl*, *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* and *Toṉṉūlviḷakkam* describes a speech organ as *ucci* (top of head)[14] which could not be equated to any of the organs which involve in the production of speech sounds. *Vīracōḻiyam*, *Naṉṉūl*, *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* include nose among the air chambers.[15] Though nose is also an air cavity it does not produce any sound independently except functioning like an articulator which reinforces the speech sounds already produced in the oral cavity.[16] The respective descriptions of *Puttamittiraṉār* and *Pavaṇanti* namely '*Untimutal eḻuṅkāṟṟu*' and '*niṟai uyir muyaṟciyiṉ uḷvaḷi turappa eḻum aṇuttiraḷ*'[17] due to the effort of the contented soul the inner air detaches out the crowded *muyaṟciyiṉ uḷvaḷi turappa eḻum aṇuttiraḷ* (molecules and the rising up molecules) may be interpreted as pulmonic aggressive air-stream and it also appears to be scientific. *Nēminātam* and *Ilakkaṇa viḷakkam* describe the air employed for the speech production as '*utāṉaṉ*' which reveals only that air is required for the production of speech sounds and that air starts deep from the diaphragm.[18] *Toṉṉūl viḻakkam* says that vowels and continuants are produced at the throat, stops are produced at the chest. It further

describes that these are the primary places for the production of speech sounds, which also have lips, nose, palate, teeth and tongue as secondary places.[19] This could not be explained satisfactorily because there is no articulator existing in the chest[20] to produce any speech sound or in the throat to produce any speech sound except the voice which is one of the components of a speech sound and glottal stop and glottal fricatives.[21] Glottal stop and glottal fricatives are not existing in Tamil.

Process of speech

Tolkāppiyar says that, having the up and down movements of the diaphragm as the basis, the to and fro motion of the air flow starts from the lungs. This flow of air causes the speech production. It passes the throat and head where the articulators are accommodated. These articulators, by behaving in different manners modulate the oral cavity and affect the air flow by means of which various speech sounds are produced. Here *Tolkāppiyar* has clearly explained the three important factors required for the production of speech sounds namely the airstream, articulators and manner of articulation.[22] *Tolkāppiyar* says that the manner of articulation (ākkam)[23] differs according to the production of the respective sounds. Mention has been made about the manner of articulations as '*muyaṟci*',[24] *toḻil*,[25] and '*viṉai*',[26] respectively in *Vīracōḻiyam*, *Naṉṉūl* and *Ilakkṇaviḷakkam*. Other grammarians do not talk anything about the manner of articulations.

Articulation

The articulatory description of a speech sound can be made in a simpler way by pointing out the articulation i.e., an articulator [active articulator] which moves from its rest position towards the other articulator [passive articulator] in order to make a contact [manner of articulation] so that the air flow may be affected to produce the required sound. Among the grammarians only *Tolkāppiyar* gives a clear picture regarding the articulation.

Vowel

According to *Tolkāppiyar* almost all sounds are produced at the oral cavity.[27] Only voicing[28] and nasal resonance[29] are supplied by the throat and the nasal cavities respectively. He says that the vowel sounds are the modulation of the voice produced at the throat. Vowels are resulted by the steady pitch produced by the vocal cords. This quality is common for all the vowel sounds.[30] The central vowels are produced

with the open mouth.[31] The front vowels are articulated when the front edge of the tongue touches the root of the lower front teeth.[32] The back vowels are created with rounded lip position.[33]

All other grammarians except *Tolkāppiyar* say that the vowels are produced at the throat.[34] Though both *Naṉṉūl* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* observe same kind of modifications of the oral cavity (*aṅkāppu*),[33] tongue position ('*aṇpalmutal nāviḷimpu*') i.e., the front edge of the tongue touching the front flower inner cum and lip position (*itaḻ kuvivu*') i.e., lip rounding[36] unlike *Tolkāppiyar*, they are also of the opinion that the vowel sounds are produced at the throat. As we have seen earlier no sound except voice, glottal stop and glottal fricatives could be produced at the throat, we could not offer any explanation for the articulatory set up of the oral cavity mentioned by these grammarians. *Muthuvīriyam* also treats the vowel production in the same way except for the front vowels which he describes that the front edge of the tongue touches the root of the upper teeth.[37] Since it is against the nature of vowel production[38] it is impossible to produce any vowel sound in this manner.

Consonants

Except *Tolkāppiyar*, all other grammarians say that vowels and continuants are produced at the throat ; nasals are produced at the nose and stops are produced at the chest.[39] It may be noted here, that it is physiologically impossible to produce these sounds according to the descriptions given by these grammarians except *Vaittiyanātatēcikar's* statement '*mūkkicai*',[40] which, one may try to interpret as nasal resonance without which the sound will only be a plosive. But *Tolkāppiyar* has clearly described that the vowels are the glottal tone[41] produced by the vocal cords and modulated in the oral cavity.[42] The stops and the continuants are produced by the vocal turbulence caused by the articulators situated in the oral cavity.[43] Nasals are the combination of the corresponding stops and the nasal resonance,[44] which is resulted by the air flow terminated at the oral closure and diverted through the nasal passage.[45]

Stops

Tolkāppiyam, *Muttuvīriyam*, *Naṉṉūl* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* observe six stop sounds.[46] *Tolkāppiyam* does not explicitly mention the manner of articulation for the stop sounds '*k*', '*c*', and '*ṭ*'.[47] But one could easily attribute stop articulation for these sounds from the following *Cūttirams*[48] which describe the articulation of '*t*', '*p*' and '*ṟ*'. *Naṉṉūl*, *Muttuvīriyam* and *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam*[49] have clearly described the manner of stop articulation for all the six stops.

Regarding the shapes of the articulators while in action, *Tolkāppiyar's* explanations are adequate and accurate. They are worth mentioning. They are as scientific as the descriptions of any of the modern phoneticians who have done a lot of experimental research using all the available modern scientific technology. *Tolkāppiyar* says that 'ṭ'[50] and 'ṟ'[51] are produced by the front edge of the tongue. But 'ṭ' is articulated by the spreaded front edge (Laminal)[52] of the tongue and 'ṟ' by the converged front edge (apex)[53] of the tongue. Though both *Naṉṉūl* and *Muttuvīriyam* use different words *nāmuṭi* i.e. tongue top and *nuṉinā*, i.e. tip of the tongue[54] as the articulators for the production of 'ṭ' and 'ṟ' respectively the articulators do not reveal any subtle difference in their shapes which are responsible for the audible difference between the two sounds.

It is said by the above grammarians that 'ṭ' is produced by the front of the tongue and the palate when the former touches the latter.[55] There is no clue in the descriptions found in *Tolkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl* to consider the sound as retroflex. Only *Muttvīra upāttiyāyar*'s description '*nuṉinā nuṉi aṇam nōkka*' i.e., tip of the tongue bending towards the front palate[56] reveals that the particular kind of articulatory set-up produces 'ṭ' which is a retroflex sound, since the sound is articulated by aiming the tip against the palate so that the tip could rise and bend towards the palate.[57] This description of *Muttuvīriyam* is really appreciable.

Nasals

All grammarians except *Tolkāppiyar*[58] and *Vaittiyanātatēcikar*[59] say that the nasal sounds are produced at the nose. This does not provide correct explanation of the nasal production. Though *Vaittiyanāta tēcikar's* description '*mūkkicai*' i.e., nasal resonance, gives the sense of nasal resonance only *Tolkāppiyar's* description '*mellel̲uttu . . . . colliya paḷḷi nilai . . . . mūkkiṉ vaḷiyicaī yāppuṟattoṉṟum*', nasals, having the same place (of articulation as for the homorganic stops) will appear with the reinforcement of the nasal resonance could provide the satisfactory explanation of the articulatory process of nasal sounds. That is, the nasals are the corresponding plosives which are reinforced in the nasal cavity when the compressed air is passing through the nose instead of the mouth.[60]

Continuants

Tolkāppiyam[61] and *Ilakkaṇa viḷakkam*[62] give clear description of the production of 'y'. It is produced when the air from the lungs, having the voice produced at the throat accumulates behind the narrow approxi-

mation made by the front of the tongue against the palate and passes with audible friction through the narrow opening. *Naṉṉūl*[63] and *Muttuvīriyam*[64] say that ' *y* ' is produced when the back of the tongue makes a contact against the back of the palate. It is not possible to produce ' *y* ' in this way.

No grammarian differentiates ' *ṟ* ' from ' *ḻ* '. All of them say that they are produced by converged tongue tip which makes a flap or trill articulation against the tongue.[65] The lateral articulation has been well observed and clearly explained by almost all the grammarians[66], ' *ḻ* ' is a contact sound and ' *ḷ* ' is a flap sound. Both of these sounds are produced when the lateral side edges of the back portion of the tongue become thick and rise up against the root of the molar row while the spreaded or converged tip of the tongue rises up in order to make a contact or flap articulation as the case may be, so that the air flow from the lungs may be diverted through the lateral sides of the oral cavity. Here again *Muttuvīrar's* description for ' *ḷ* ' seems to be more convincing since he uses the word ' *taṭava*[67], which means only flap articulation whereas *Tolkāppiyar* and *Pavaṇanti* say ' *varuṭa* '[68] means trilling also.

' *v* ' is a fricative sound. It is produced when the lower lip makes a narrow aperture against upper incisors and the air flow is squeezed through. Except *Tolkāppiyar* no other grammarian brings out this significance. *Tolkāppiyar* says that ' *v* ' is produced when the active articulator (lower lip) approaches very near to the passive articulator, (upper incisors).[69] He uses the word ' *iyaiya* ' means almost touching. *Tolkāppiyar* further distinguishes the liable contact of complete closure from the labial narrow stricture. The word '*iyaintu*' (having completely joined)[70] is used to denote a complete closure and ' *iyaiya* '[71] (just touching) is used to denote narrow stricture.

Cārpeḻuttu

Tolkāppiyar says that the secondary sounds shortened ' *i, u* ' and *āytam* will be articulated with some variations at the respective places where their primary counterparts are produced.[72] *Pavaṇanti* says that *āytam* is produced at the head.[73] If we follow his description of speech organs,[74] we could not interpret the word ' *talai* ' in any other sense except in its original meaning head. According to his description of the articulatory process of the production of *āytam*, we are only to say that not only *āytam* but any other sound also could not be articulated in the head. *Vaittiyanātatēcikar* says that *āytam* is a chest sound.[75] No phonetician has ever discovered that a sound could be articulated from the chest or head.[76]

ARTICULATORY TERMS MENTIONED BY THE TAMIL GRAMMARIANS

Name of the work	Air Chamber				Articulator				Manner of articulation
Tolkāppiyam	*talai*	*miṭaṟu*	*neñcu*	*pal*	*itaḻ*	*nā*	*mūkku*	*aṇṇam*	*ākkam*
Nēminātam	*neñcu*	*talai*	*kaṇṭam*	*nā*	*aṇṇam*	*ital*	*eyiṟu*	*mūkku*	—
Toṉṉūl	*miṭaṟu*	*uram*	*ucci*	*itaḻ*	*mūkku*	*aṇṇam*	*pal*	*nā*	—
Viracoḻiyam	*uram*	*ciram*	*kaṇṭam*	*mūkku*	*aṇṇam*	*pal*	*itaḻ*	*nā*	*muyaṟci*
Naṉṉūl	*uram*	*kaṇṭam*	*ucci*	*mūkku*	*itaḻ*	*nā*	*pal*	*aṇṇam*	*toḻil*
Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam	*ucci*	*miṭaṟu*	*uram*	*mūkku*	*itaḻ*	*nā*	*pal*	*aṇṇam*	*viṉai*

MANNER OF ARTICULATION

Name of the work	Voice	Vowel [*uyir*] open approximation	Stop [*valliṉam*] complete closure	Nasal [*melliṉam*] velic open	Continuant [*iṭaiyiṉam*] Frictive V	Approximant y	Approximant *ḻ*	Trill *ṟ*	Lateral l *ḷ*
Tolkāppiyam	*miṭaṟṟu vaḷi*	—	*Oṟṟa, iyayntu*	*mūkkuvaḷi*	*iyaya*	*kaṇṇuṟṟ aṭaiya*	*varuṭa*	*oṟṟa*	*oṟṟa, varuṭa*
Ilakkaṇa viḷakkam	—	—	*uṟa, oṟṟa*	*mūkkicai*	*uṟa*	*kaṇṇuṟ ṟaṭayya*	*varuṭa*	*varuṭa*	*oṟṟa, varuṭa*
Naṉṉūl	—	—	*uṟa*	—	*uṟa*	*uṟa*	*varuṭa*	*varuṭa*	*oṟṟa, varuṭa*
Muttuvīriyam	—	—	*aḻutta, iṟukka,- aṇṇam nōkka, uṟa*	—	*uṟa*	*uṟa*	*varuṭa*	*varuṭa*	*uṟa, taṭava*

Suprasegmental feature

Tamil grammarians have also talked about the suprasegmental features such as stress, pitch, length and intonation. Since these features, except length, are not significant in Tamil language they do not deal with them in detail.

Conclusion

It is evident that from *Tolkāppiyam*, we understand that there was a strong tradition of grammatical theories based on a scientific ground. But, the once unchallenged monopoly of the scientific reasoning and national thoughts has lost its continuity. Due to the political and religious contact with other people, which came into existence at the later stage, we forget the past and accepted the cultural supremacy and social hierarchy and above all we followed a new tradition having reborrowed the thoughts which neither could be claimed as our own nor could be explained satisfactorily. But, thanks to the modern linguistic knowledge, we are now in an advantageous position to dream the glorious past when the study of language science was not second to any of the modern advanced school of linguistics.

FOOTNOTES

1 Bloch, B. and Trager, G. L. Outline of Linguistic Analysis, 1942 ; p. 13.
2 Abercrombie, D., Elements of General Phonetics, 1967 ; p. 21.
3 Tolkāppiyam, 83.
4 Tol., 98.
5 Tol., 87, 97.
6 Tol., 100.
7 Murugaiyan, K., 'Tolkāppiyariṉ Oliyiyal Koḷkay' in Tolkāppiya Moliyiyal, 1972 ; pp. 15-16.
8 Nēminātam, 6.
9 Toṉṉūl Viḷakkam, 3.
10 Vīracōḻiyam 6 ; Naṉṉūl, 74 ; Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam, 9.
11 Vīra., 6.
12 Naṉ., 74.
13 Ilak., 9.
14 Naṉ., 74 ; Ilak., 3 ; Toṉ., 3.
15 Vīra., 6 ; Naṉ., 74 ; Ilak., 9.
16 Ladefoged, P., Elements of Acoustic Phonetics, 1966 ; p. 105.
17 Vīra., 6.
18 Nēmi., 6 ; Ilak., 8.
19 Toṉ., 3.
20 Allen, W. S., Phonetics in Ancient India, 1953 ; p. 24.
21 Abercrombie, D., Elements of General Phonetics, 1967 ; pp. 25-28.
22 Tol., 83.
23 Tol., 93.
24 Vīra., 6.
25 Naṉ., 74.
26 Ilak., 9.
27 Tol., 85.98.

[28] Tol., 84.
[29] Tol., 100.
[30] Tol., 84., Pulgram, E., Introduction to the Spectography of Speech, 1959 ; pp. 85-87.
[31] Tol., 85.
[32] Tol., 86.
[33] Tol., 87.
[34] Naṉ., 75 ; Ilak., 10 ; Toṉ., 3 ; Muttu., 43.
[35] Naṉ., 76 ; Ilak., 11.
[36] Naṉ., 78 ; Ilak., 11.
[37] Muttu. 45.
[38] Abercrombie, D., *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[39] Naṉ., 75 ; Ilak., 10 ; Ton., 3 ; Muttu.. 43.
[40] Ilak., 10.
[41] Tol., 84.
[42] Tol., 85-87.
[43] Tol., 89-99.
[44] Tol., 100.
[45] Ladefoged, P., *op. cit.*, p. 105.
[46] Tol., 89-91, 93, 94, 97 ; Muttu. 47-51, 57 ; Nan. 78-81, 86 ; Ilak. 12.
[47] Tol., 89-91.
[48] Tol., 93, 94, 97.
[49] Naṉ., 79 ; Muttu. 47 ; Ilak. 12.
[50] Tol., 93.
[51] Tol. 94.
[52] Tol. 93.
[53] Tol. 94.
[54] Naṉ. 80, 86 ; Muttu. 50, 57.
[55] To . 91 ; Muttu. 49 ; Naṉ. 79 ; Ilak. 12.
[56] Muttu. 49.
[57] Abercrombie, E., *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[58] Tol. 100.
[59] Ilak. 10.
[60] Ladefoged, P., *op. cit.*, p. 105.
[61] Tol. 99.
[62] Ilak. 12.
[63] Naṉ. 82.
[64] Muttu. 52.
[65] Tol. 95 ; Naṉ. 83 ; Muttu. 53 ; Ilak. 12.
[66] Tol. 96 ; Naṉ. 84 ; Muttu. 54-55 ; Ilak. 12.
[67] Muttu. 55.
[68] Tol. 96 ; Nan. 84.
[69] Tol. 93.
[70] Tol. 97.
[71] Tol. 98.
[72] Tol. 101.
[73] Naṉ. 87.
[74] Naṉ. 74.
[75] Ilak. 13.
[76] Allen, W. S., *op. cit.*, p. 24.

The Pandyans

J. R. Sinnatamby

In this article I am giving reference to various writers who have referred to the Pandyan Kingdom of India. This was an ancient Kingdom in the south, east of India and nearest, in fact a few miles, to Ceylon.

Walkers refers to this kingdom 'as an ancient non-Aryan Tamil Kingdom at the extreme southern tip of the Indian Peninsula ..... The traditions of their origin from the Epic Pandu is not regarded as acceptable to scholars.

Megasthenes notes a legend according to which Heracles placed South India under the rule of his daughter Pandaia. The Sanskrit epics speak of this region as foreign territory. In the Mauryan period the Pandya Kingdom was outside the limits of Asoka's empire, but is mentioned in one of his inscriptions. The flourishing Pandya port of Korkai (or Kolkai) not far from Tuticorin was known to Greeks and Romans. Strabo mentions an embassy sent to Augustus Caesar about 29 BC by a king named Pandian, was probably a Pandya ruler '.[1]

It is possible that the people of this ancient kingdom were descended from the peoples of the Indus Valley civilization. Wolpert says, 'There is good reason to believe that the present Dravidians of Southern India are descended from the people whose monumental urban civilisation in the Indus Valley was conquered by Aryan invaders somewhere between 2300 and 1500 BC. We know quite a bit about the highly sophisticated, technologically advanced culture of these Indus Valley dwellers .... Unfortunately however we still can't read the pictographic script on Harappan seats .... The early Ariyans, on the other hand, have left records of their society .... These Ariyan 'books' (the Vedas) .... provide much illuminating historical information, including references to fierce battles against 'dark stained' enemies, who were found in fortified cities and conquered. Though many of the pre-Ariyans of the Indus Valley were thus overwhelmed by Ariyan tribesmen, other peoples fled southward across the Vindhyas ....'[2]

That India was populated by Dravidians in the north of India also has been pointed out by Mendis,[3] Nehru,[4] and scholars of repute, as for example, Burrows, Boden professor for Sanskrit, Oxford. The eminent

philologist, scholar, and statesman of North India, S. K. Chatterji, has in fact pointed out in an article pertaining to the ethnology of India that the entire north-west of India was of Dravidian speech when the Ariyans enterd India in about 1500 BC.

This can also be inferred from what is pointed out in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 'The Dravidian race is widely spread over India, but all the members of it do not speak Dravidian languages. In the north many of them have been completely Aryanised and have adopted the language of their conquerors while they have retained their ethnic characteristics.'[5]

Wolpert, (*India*, p. 31), has mentioned the interesting fact pertaining to the Indus Valley people : 'Though no great "temple" has yet been located, one may well have existed directly under the Buddhist shrine still standing above Mohenjadaro, for immediately adjacent to the sacred ground lies the great 'bath', a huge hypocaustically heated tank of brick, much like the water tanks found to this day beside Hindu temples all over India. Ritual ablution, a vital part of daily Hindu worship, may date from the pre-Aryan days of Harrappa.'[6]

This observation has special significance for the Hindus of Ceylon and would appear to receive confirmation from the fact that the Abhayagiri Dagoba stands on the site of a Hindu temple and Hindu institutions. This fact has been attested by Nalalasekera,[7] and Harichandra.[8] The twin pokunas (Tanks) in the vicinity of this dagoba would appear to have been a part of the Hindu temple that was destroyed.

Further confirmation of the providing of facilities at Anuradhapura for the performance of ritual baths is provided by the Mahawamsa, where it is pointed out, 'In the reign of Senindagutta, the demilas to ensure cleanliness which attends bathing, considering the river to be too remote for that purpose, forming an embankment across it, brought its stream near the town'.[9] Apparently this refers to the construction of a channel for the diversion of a river towards a temple for the performance of ritual ablutions.

The Pandyan Kingdom has made a special contribution to Ceylon in that it provided her with Ceylon's first queen. It is also significant that the last few queens were also from Madura, then under the Nayaks, according to Dolaphilla in his book on Sri Wickramarajasingha.

Reference to the first Pandyan queen of Ceylon has also been made by Geiger, where he refers to the Madura mentioned in the Mahawamsa as the Madura in the South of the Madras Presidency.[10]

Paul Peiris has also referred to this subject. He says, ' Medura known to the Romans as Regnum Pandionis, had lost its position as the centre of Dravidian culture which it enjoyed in the days of Agastiya when its Sangattar, University Board, was the ultimate tribunal in matters of scholarship. The Royal family which supplied Vijaya with his consort was destroyed by the Moslem invasion, but in 1420 a Hindu Dynasty, that of the Nayakas, was again established, and acknowledging the overlordship of Vijayanagara reached its zenith under Tirumala Nayaka (1623-1662) whose architectural works remain his impressive memorial '.[11] Madura is actually shown in Ptolemy's map of India, (C. 100 AD), and described as ' Medura Regia Pandionis '.

The earliest capital of the Pandyans was at Kolkai at the mouth of the river Tambraparni.[12]

This solves the question of the reference in the Mahawamsa to the ambassadors that they went by ship to Madura. I have dealt with this in my article ' Kolkie ' where I have pointed out ' The Mahawamsa clearly refers to Madura as the Madura in Southern India but says the ambassadors reached the place by ship. It is now clear that the capital of the Pandyans, (Madura when the Mahawamsa was written in the 5th century A.D.), was then actually Korkie which was on the coast before silting took place '.

The reference to ambassadors ' were quickly come by ship ' to their destination, is also an indication of the proximity of this Pandyan port to Ceylon.[13]

Further confirmation of the fact that the first capital of the Pandyans was on the coast of India is furnished by Ananda K. Coomarasamy (RASCB 1895, Vol. 14, No. 46, p. 18), in a paper pertaining to ' Ancient Tamil Literature ', read by him, where he states, ' Amongst the members of the first Sangam were Agastya, ... during the reigns of eighty nine Pandya kings, beginning with Kaysinavaluti and ending in the reign of Kadunkon, when the city of Madura—not modern Madura, but another in the southernmost part of India was submerged in the sea . . . .

The third and last Sangam was established by the Pandiya king Mudattirumaran at Madura (Modern Madura) which was called Uttara (northern) Madurai, to distinguish it from Southern Madura, which was destroyed by the sea '.[14]

This confirms that the Mahawamsa actually refers to the capital, when it was on the southern coast of India so as to distinguish it from the modern Madura that is northern Madura, at the time when the Mahawamsa was written.

This early contact between Anuradhapura and the Pandyans of South India from the time of Wijeya can also be inferred from what Fernando says, ' A close parallel to the early Brahmin records of Ceylon is offered by some interesting Brahmi records in South India . . . . Pandya country. So alike those at Mihintale, Vassagiriya and such other ancient sites. Also bedsteads like at Mihintale and Vassagiriya.

Inscriptions at Arikamedu in South India are same as Brahmi of early cave records and assigned to the 1st and 2nd century A.D. Scribes are same in India and Ceylon and they differ from those who carved records of Asoka. They were in South India and Ceylon and practising their arts even before the time of Asoka '.[15]

There is a question whether the Pandyans were Aryans which has engaged the attention of scholars. Wolpert referred to above has pointed out that the tradition of their origin from the Epic Pandu is not regarded as acceptable to scholars. The historical and geographical background of the Pandyan Kingdom has been dealt with by B. C. Law. In view of the well authenticated manner in which this subject has been dealt with by Law, I am quoting the entire reference to this subject in his work ' Historical Geography of Ancient India', pages 180-181, where he states, ' The Pandya country to which Panini refers in his Astadhyayi (4.1.171) comprised Madura and Tinnevelly districts (S.I.I., I, pp. 51, 59, 63, etc.). According to Ptolemy it was known as Pandian with Madura as its royal city (McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, Majumdar Ed. p. 183). It was conquered by Rajendra Cola. The Pandyan Kingdom also comprised Travancore in the 1st century of the Christian era. Originally it had its capital at Kolkai on the Tambaparni river in Tinnevelly, and its later capital was Madura (Daksina Mathura). In the Mahabharata and in many Jatakas the Pandus are spoken of as the ruling race of Indraprastha. Katyayana in his Varttika derives Pandya from Pandu. The country of the Pandyas is also mentioned in the Ramayana (Iv, ch. 41), where Sugriva is said to have sent his monkey-soldiers in quest of Sita. In the Mahabharata (Sabhaparva, Ch. 31, V, 17) it is stated that Shahdeva, the youngest of the Pandu princes, went to the Dakshinapatha after having conquered the king of the Pandyas.

Puranas also refer to the Pandyas (Markandeya, Ch. 57, V. 45 ; Vayuk 45, 124 ; Matsya, 112, 46). Asoka's Rock Edicts II and XIII mention the Pandyas whose territory lay outside his empire. Asoka was in friendly terms with the Pandyas who probably had two kingdoms, one including Tinnevelly on the south and extending as far north as the high-lands in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore Gap, and the other including the Mysore State. Strabo (XV, 4, 73) mentions an embassy sent to Augustus Caesar by a king " Pandian ", possibly a Pandya of the Tamil Country '.[16]

The Jaina legends connect the sons of Pandu with the Pandya country of the south with Mathura of Madhura (modern Modoura) as its capital. Dr. Barnett rightly observes the ' Pandiyans, however, were not Pandavas, and the Jaina identification of the two dynasties is probably based on popular etymology. A like attempt to connect the two families occurs in the Tamil chronicle given in Taylor's Oriental Historical MSS. which states that Madura at the time of the Bharata war was ruled by Babhruvahana, the son of Arjuna by the daughter of the Pandiyan king of Madura. The Mahabharata on the other hand makes Babhruvahana, the son of Arjuna by Citrangada, the daughter of Citravahana, the king of Manipura '.[17]

The association of the Pandyas of the south with the Surasenas of Mathura and the Pandus of northern India is probably alluded to in the confused statement of Megasthenes.[18] In the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon the Pandyas are invariably represented as Pandus or Pandu.[19]

' The distinction between the Pandya and the Cola divisions of the Tamil country is well known. Damilla mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions of Virapurusadatta, is the Tamil country. According to the Mahawamsa, Vijaya married a daughter of the Pandu king whose capital was Madhura in South India. Madhura is Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency. Another capital was probably at Kolkai. The rivers Tamraparni and Kritamala or Vaigai flowed through it '.[20]

In this connection, it is of interest and relevance to note that Parakaramabahu, one of Ceylon's greatest kings is also of Pandyan descent. Geiger says, ' Vijayabahu I (1059-1114), wedded his younger sister Mitta to Panduraja. The name shows that the husband was an offspring of the royal family of the Pandu kingdom. Manabharana was the son of Panduraja and Mitta, and Manabharana's son was Parakkramabahu the Great, who therefore on his grandfather's side had Dravidian blood in his veins '.[21] With reference to Vijaya's marriage he says, ' we also learn from the chronicle (Mhvs. 7.48 sq.) that messengers were sent by Vijaya to Madhura, the capital of the Dravidian Pandu kingdom, South India, to woo a daughter of the king for himself and other girls as wives for his companions, and we are told that they came to the Island, and, together with them craftsmen and members of the various guilds. This is an interesting fact, and it is not improbable that there is some truth in it. For the new colony was no doubt in want of such help and it is easy to understand that they were fetched from South India which geographically was the nearest civilised country '.[22]

The word Tamraparni which has been mentioned above as referring to a river in Tinnevelly in India is of interest. It would appear to me that this river has not been known locally as Tambraparni. I have not

seen this name given to this river in the maps except, as far as, I am aware in McGraw-Hill atlas. Even where a map shows this name, it would appear to have been given from information obtained otherwise than on the ground.

I am inclined to agree with the Manual of Madras Presidency, where in a footnote, it is pointed out ' The Tamraparna division of the Navakhanda and the Taprobane of the Greeks are one and the same indicating Ceylon. The name meaning in the sanskrit (copper leaved) is again all probability a corruption by Sanskrit Travellers of Poruni which also means toddy. The river in Tinnevelly called by the Sanskrit authors Tambrapurny, like the Ceylon island, is called to this day by the Tamuls Poruni or the toddy river ; which appears decisive of the point. Tambrapurny is not known to the real Tamuls of Tinnevelly. The Greeks called this river solen or chank river but not Taprobane. Later Sanskrit authors have erroneously derived the division of the Navakhanda from this small river instead of this island. The latter was its true derivation '.[23] Apparently the confusion has been the creation of some sanskrit writers who had no knowledge of the local geography.

The reference to the Greeks calling this river Solen is apparently to Ptolemy's Geography of India, which is a remarkably accurate document, a subject I have dealt with in my work ' Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography '. This river has been described by Ptolemy as Solen, even though he has given one of the ancient names of Ceylon as Taprobane, which is supposed to be derived from Tambraparni. I may mention that I however do not think that the Taprobane of the Greeks for Ceylon is derived from Tamraparni.

However, the Manual of Madras Presidency, has stated that this river is actually called ' Chank ' river. Investigations of this point has now revealed that Ptolemy is correct and has also solved the question raised about 80 years ago by McCrindle, ' The Tamraparni is the chief river of Tinneveli . . . . In Tamil poetry it is called Porunnei. Its Pali form is Tambapanni. How it came to be called Solen remains as yet unexplained '.[24]

That Solen actually means ' Chank ' as pointed out in the Manual of Madras Presidency is confirmed by the fact that according to the Oxford English Dictionary, Latin Solen means shell fish.[25] It is also pointed out that it is cylindrically elongated. The fact that the mouth of this river has been famous for Chanks accounts for the fact that it is called Chank river, and the description of the river as Solen by Ptolemy, according to geographical information obtained locally.[26]

Further evidence to support this view that this river was not known as Tambraparni would appear to be provided by Asoka's Rock Edicts.

Law has pointed out, (Indological studies, Part I, Second Edition, p. 48), in reference to the word Tamraparni, ' Vincent Smith thinks that the term does not denote Ceylon but merely indicates the river Tamraparni in Tinnevelly. He refers to the Girnar text ' a Tambaparni ' which according to him, indicates that the river is meant and not the island of the same name. Ray Chaudhuri contends that the phrase ' a Tambapanni ' in Rock Edict II comes after ' Ketalaputto as far as the Tamraparni ' is hardly appropriate because the Tambraparni is a Pandya river. In R.E. XIII the people of Tamraparni are expressly mentioned as Tamraparnyans. In this edict Tambraparni or the country of the Tamraparnyas is placed below Pandya. In the great epic too the country of Tampraparni is placed below Pandya or Dravida and Mount Vaiduryaka is mentioned as its rockly landmark. The asramas of Agastya and his disciple and the Gokarna tirtha are located in it. These facts enable us to identify Tamraparni with Hiuen Tsang's Malayakuta also placed below Dravida with Mount Potalaka (Vaiduryaka) as its landmark. By Tamraparni or Taprobane Ceylon is meant, the word dvipa or island is associated with it. In one of the Nagarjunikande inscriptions Tambaparna is clearly distinguished from the island of Tambaparni '.[27] If we accept that this river was never known as Tamraparni except by some writers based on a misconception, the question raised by Vincent Smith would not have arisen at all.

Reverting to the subject of the Pandiyans, it is of interest and relevance to note that Caldwell has pointed out that the Aryan immigrants to the south appear to have been generally Brahmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers, and that the kings of the Pandyas, Cholas, Kalingas and other rulers have been Dravidian chieftains.[28]

FOOTNOTES

1 WALKERS : *Hindu World*, p. 180.
2 WOLPERT : *India*, p. 6.
3 MENDIS : *Early History of Ceylon*, p. 12
4 NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL : *Glimpses of World History*, p. 48
5 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I ; p. 378.
6 WOLPERT, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
7 NALALASEKERA : *Pali literature*, p. 120.
8 HARISCHANDRA : *Sacred City, Anuradhapura*, p. 48.
9 TURNOUR (tr.) : *Mahawamsa*, 1837 ; p. 64.
10 GEIGER (tr.) : *Mahawamsa*, p. 59 ; F.N. 1.
11 PAUL PEIRIS : *Sinhala and Patriots*, p. 7.
12 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 23 ; p. 216.
MENDIS : *op. cit.*, p. 20 ; F.N. 2.
13 GEIGER (tr.) : *op. cit.*, p. 59 (V. 51).
14 COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA, K. : *Ancient Tamil Literature in RASCB* 1895 ; Vol. 14 ; No. 46 ; p. 18.
15 *Fernando in University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. 7 ; No. 4 ; pp. 222, 283, 284, 295.

[16] LAW, B.C. : *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 180-181. For further details please refer '*Tribes in Ancient India*', pp. 190 ff.

[17] TAYLOR, R. : *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. I ; pp. 195 ff.

[18] Please refer B. C. Law's '*Tribes in Ancient India*', p. 190 ; Raychaudhri's '*Political History of Ancient India*', *4th edn.*, p. 272 and McCrindle's '*Ancient India*' (*Megasthenes and Arrian*), pp. 163-164.

[19] MAHAWAMSA, Ch. 8 ; V. 50 ; *Dipavamsa*, Ch. 4, V. 41.

[20] LAW, B. C. : *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[21] GEIGER : *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 20.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 19 and also refer F.N. 15.

[23] *Manual of Madras Presidency*, Vol. I ; p. 1.

[24] MCCRINDLE : *Ancient India, Ptolemy*, p. 59.

[25] *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. 10 ; p. 395.

[26] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 23 ; p. 216.

[27] LAW, B. C. : *Indological Studies*, pt. 1 ; 2nd edn., p. 48.

[28] CALDWELL, R. : *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 111.

Is the Tamil Alphabet System an Adaptation?

A. Subbiah

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran has done a great service to the cause of Tamil research by raising (Journal of Tamil Studies, December 1972) the hitherto little debated question as to whether the Tamil alphabetic system is an indigenous one or adapted from the modified Brahmi Script used by Buddhist and Jain monks for their rock cut inscrptions in Tamil Nad ; I. Mahadevan (1968) has named the Script as Tamil-Brahmi in supersession of the term Dravidi or Damili used in earlier times and has dated the earliest of these inscriptions to 2nd Century B.C. On the basis of (a) *Cūttirams* Nos. 15 & 16 reading,

> The nature of the consonant
> is to be provided with a dot[1]
> *e* and *O* are also of the same nature[2]

and (b) the relegation is the end of the alphabetic inventory now current, those sounds of Tamil which do not find a place in Prakrit or Sanskrit for writing which languages the Brahmi Script was originally devised viz. ழ, ள, ற, ண, T. P. Meenakshisundaran arrives at the conclusion that Tolkāppiyar appears to have based *his* alphabetic system on the Tamil-Brahmi Script. This is broadly in agreement with Mahadevan's earlier hypothesis, that Tamil had no Script of its own until the Tamil-Brahmi Script was generally adopted in Tamil country for writing Tamil ; the latter could if at all have been possible only after the Tamil-Brahmi Script had time to get established in Tamil Society and accepted by the Tamil rulers, as normally such an important development could be brought about only by a recognized authority such as the Government or a recognized Academy. The implication of this is that *Tolkāppiyam* must have been written long after the 2nd Century B.C.

2. In dealing with problems of an ancient period such as this, where definite proof will seldom be available, there is a danger in drawing conclusions from stray evidence here and there, as it might betray us into committing gross errors ; to rely solely on epigraphic evidence provided by immigrants into the country on a linguistic matter such as this is particularly risky. As far as is possible all available evidence including

epigraphic, historical, linguistic, literary as well as traditional material must be gathered and sifted with a view to arriving at a balanced appraisal of the situation on the basis of such cumulative evidence, which will incidentally bring to light the falsity of many an implanted evidence. Particularly we have to take into account the following factors :

(i) In all ancient classical literature, whether relating to Greek, Latin, Sanskrit or Tamil, scribes as well as well meaning—sometimes not so well meaning—scholars had frequently taken liberties with texts with deliberate intent to introduce their own ideas ; this was done in various ways, e.g., re-arranging the order of the stanzas or chapters, inserting misleading headings or titles, altering or deleting texts and even interpolating new matter. In doing so, however, they sometimes left behind tell-tale evidence of their misdeeds.

(ii) There has been a tendency right up to modern times on the part of many tendentious writers to emphasise in season and out of season, the indebtedness of Tamil language and literature to Prakrit and Sanskrit language and literature. Today it is well recognized that there has been two way traffic between Aryan and Dravidian or Sanskrit and Tamil ever since the two languages and their peoples came into contact with one another, but the extent to which, and the periods during which the exchanges took place, is a large issue which is unnecessary to deal with. Writing in 1904, Buhler, the well-known Palaeographist wrote :

> ' The gradual advance of the northern characters towards the South probably is explained by *the predilection of many southern kings for northern customs*, and by the immigration of Northern Brahmins, castes of scribes and Buddhist and Jaina monks, to which the statements in various inscriptions and the historical tradition bear witness '.

The tendency referred to here was particularly prominent during the period 2nd Century B.C. to 7th Century A.D. when non-Tamil immigrants and kings commanded great influence. Even in more recent times there were Tamil scholars like Cāmināta Tēcikar who was naive enough to think that Tamil had borrowed all its letters except five from Sanskrit. One of the consequences was that tendentious scholars did not hesitate even to interpolate new material in ancient Tamil texts. To quote only one instance, *Cūttiram* No. 7 of *Tolkāppiyam* reads :

> According to the view of those who have understood accurately
> one *māttirai* is the time taken by a wink of the eyes
> (or) a snap of the fingers.[3]

5

If we examine *Cūttirams* 3, 4, 5, 6, 11 and 13 which deal with the mora or time measure of the Tamil phonemes, we will notice that in none of the *Cūttirams*, whether preceding or following No. 7, *Tolkāppiyar* uses the Sanskrit derived *māttirai* but uses consistently the Tamil term *aḷapu*, proving beyond doubt that *Cūttiram* No. 7 was a deliberate interpolation ; the contents of this *Cūttiram* which are taken from Sanskrit grammar are in fact incorrect and it is unlikely that *Tolkāppiyar* would have subscribed to them.

(iii) It is a well-known historical fact that writing in India was by and large on palm leaf. Buhler has pointed out :

> ' According to the Canon of the Southern Buddhists, leaves (panna) were in ancient times the most common writing material—one inference, which may be drawn from it, is, that about A.D. 400 *the Buddhists believed palm-trees to have been used for writing from immemorial times* . . . . In Southern India, raw palm-leaves were, and still are, commonly used for letters, for private or official documents, as well as in the indigenous schools.'

T. Burrow writes in his book, the Sanskrit Language (1955)

> Th commonest material used for writing in India was palm leaf. The *exclusive* use of this prevailed in South India down to modern times . . . . *As a result of the perishable nature of these materials really ancient Indian manuscripts are rare.*

Since the Tamils used palm leaf exclusively for writing and did not resort to stone inscriptions until later times, no evidence of their writing during the *Tolkāppiyam* or *Caṅkam* period has survived but this cannot be cited as proof that Tamils had no writing system in the pre-Inscription period. Referring to the Indus Script for instance, Diringer (1953) writes :

> As Hunter points out, the absence of inscriptions other than on seals indicated that some perishable material must have been employed.

If the recent attempts at decipherment of the Indus Script as a Proto-Dravidian language are well founded, it would appear that from about 2500 B.C. if not earlier to modern times, the Tamils and their ancestors had been using palm leaf for writing, with this difference that the Indus ancestors have accidentally left behind seals as evidence of their writing, while the Tamils in the *Tolkāppiyam* age left no such evidence to satisfy the sceptical modern scholar. It must be also remembered that unlike the Vedic literature which was liturgical in its nature and

had to be learnt by heart by an exclusive class of priests, Tamil literature was largely secular in the early *Caṅkām* period and was the creation of all classes and castes and since the Tamils had no oral tradition which necessitated their learning everything by heart, the ancient Tamil literature could not have survived without the aid of writing, particularly as in view of their vast maritime and inland trade they had unlimited opportunities to acquire the art of writing if they did not possess it already.

(iv) If the Tamils had their own writing system at the time of *Tolkāppiyam*, what was it like ? While we have no direct evidence, we may infer that, if the Indus people represent the ancestors of the Tamil and other Dravidian speaking peoples, who at the time of the Aryan immigration were living all over India, they had retained their writing habit although the Indus Script itself must have been considerably modified to become an alphabetic and syllabic language by the time of *Tolkāppiyam.* The 64 scripts which are said to have existed in the North at the time of Buddha (Buhler, 1904) as well as the Tamil Script must have all been derivations of the original Indus Script and may hence have had similar graphemic features to start with at any rate. According to Diringer (1953) :

> ' many scholars, for instance, Edward Thomas thought that the Brahmi Script was a Dravidian invention '.

He wrote later in 1962 :

> ' *On the question of the supposed influence of the Indus Valley Script on other, later, forms of writing one can only render a verdict of not proven. It has been suggested (and accepted by a number of scholars) that it has some connection with the Brahmi writing*, the proto type of nearly all later Indian Scripts ; But there is at the present time no evidence that the Indus Valley Script continued in existence between the last centuries of the third millennium and the first half of the first millennium B.C. ; there are no traces of it in the most ancient Indian literature ; and, *since it has not been deciphered, there is no evidence for any linguistic continuity which would add substance to the hypothesis.*'

In the event therefore of the decipherment of the Indus Script as a Proto-Dravidian language being confirmed, the question of Tamil Script borrowing from North Indian Scripts or vice versa does not arise, all similarities being traceable to the common ancestry, while the differences

should be attributed to the considerable modifications in the phonological structure which the North Indian languages (and in later times the South Indian languages other than Tamil) underwent as a result of the contact with the Aryan dialects.

(v) Most important of all, *Tolkāppiyam* is one of the world's masterpieces in the field of grammar and its technique, especially in the field of phonology, is unique and *original* principally of course because the Tamil language itself has an unique phonological structure, unlike that of any other language, ancient or modern, whose structure has been described by linguistis. For consistency, logicality and precision, it far surpasses the Ashtadhyayi of Panini, which however is better known to the western world because it deals with an Indo-European language, that formed the basis on which the science of modern linguistics was built up in West. C. R. Sankaran (1951) after a study of both Ashtadhyayi and *Tolkāppiyam* writes :

> 'We meet with the *accurate description of phonemes of the old Tamil language,* built apparently on the results of phonetic study in *Tolkāppiyam*, which is the oldest descriptive Tamil grammar. Such an emphasis on the patterns inherent in the sounds of the language of study, and the attempt to establish, on the basis of their occurrence and distribution, the types of sounds which must have been significant in distinguishing the meaning of words is *not met with even in the Ashtadhyaya of Panini.*'

Daniel Jones (1962), the well-known British phonetician, wrote :

> 'Tamil is a language which illustrates particularly well the grouping of several quite distinct sounds into single phonemes. It is noteworthy that Tamil orthography does not show any difference between all these sounds. *Those who originally invented this orthography must have had a clear conception of the phoneme idea.*'

The history of the development of civilizations shows that no advanced civilization has ever flourished without the aid of a standard language as a means of communication amongst the members of that society and a language can be standardized only through its being reduced to writing ; the only exceptions are what we may call liturgical cultures with an oral tradition like the Vedic, the study of which however was confined to a small priestly class who devoted several years of study to master the language, which in the absence of writing never spread to the masses. Thanks however to the extremely simple phonological structure

of the Tamil language, as standardized by *Tolkāppiyar* or his predecessors, as a preliminary to reducing it to writing, the phonemic system of standard Tamil has remained practically unchanged since the time of Tolkāppiyar, except for a few allophonic changes which have not affected the system materially, an achievement which no other living language in the world can lay claim to and which was made possible only through maintaining the standard language with the aid of writing. The Tamil *Script* has no doubt undergone several changes but the standard language has more or less remained unchanged.

3. Keeping these factors in mind, let us consider the various questions raised by T. P. Meenakshisundaran in his article :

(i) *The use of dot* (*Puḷḷi*) *with the symbols* எ & ஒ*:* T. P. Meenakshisundaran feels that, as the symbols for the short vowels are derived from the symbols for the long vowels by the addition of a puḷḷi (dot) according to *Cūttiram* 16 of *Tolkāppiyam* instead of the other way about as in other vowels, it is a clear proof that the script was borrowed from another language which had no short *e* and *o* in its alphabetic inventory. For one thing, it is inconceivable that the author of this great Tamil grammar, *even if borrowed the Script from another language*, did not see the illogicality of deriving the short vowel from the long and hence the advisability of avoiding the anomally by using the borrowed symbols, for the short vowels and adding a suitable diacritic for the long vowels. The mystery is solved however if we look at the context in which *Cūttiram* 16 occurs. In the earlier *Cūttirams* 3 to 8 Tolkāppiyar deals with the short vowels அ, இ, உ, எ, ஒ, and their time measure of *ōraḷapu* and the long vowels ஆ, ஈ, ஊ, ஏ, ஐ, ஓ, ஔ, and their time measure of *Iraḷapu* and passes on in *Cūttirams* 9 to 15 to deal with phonemes having a time measure of *araiyaḷapu only*, namely *mei*, *cārpeḻuttu* and *makarakkuṟukkam* and states that these extra short sounds will be represented by *inserting a dot* (*puḷḷi*) i.e. in the corresponding symbol with *ōraḷapu*. As எ, ஒ, are not by any means extra short sounds, the context itself is proof that it was an interpolation. What purpose did this interpolation serve ? It would appear that, after the introduction of Tamil-Brahmi Script into the Tamil country, there were two Scripts simultaneously in use, one the indigenous script used by the Tamils from earlier times and the other, The Tamil-Brahmi Script used by Jain and Buddhists for writing Tamil. (This practice of using the Script of one's own mother tongue for writing foreign languages has at all times been adopted by persons who do not have the time or are too lazy to learn the Script of the foreign languages, e.g. the use of Roman characters by Europeans for studying Indian languages). In course of time the ruling classes in Tamil country, with their predilection for

North Indian Culture, appear to have given up the indigenous script and adopted the Tamil-Brahmi Script, which was presumably not far different from the former ; the introduction of new scripts by Governmental authority is known even in modern times, as in Turkey, Malaysia etc. and even in India there was not long ago a move to make the Devanagari Script a common Script for all languages in India. Be that as it may, as the Brahmi Script was originally devised from Prakrit and Sanskrit and hence did not have symbols for short *e* and *o* and as, in the Tamil-Brahmi Script, the same symbols were used for both short and long vowels, some ingenious scribe appears to have hit upon the idea of borrowing the *puḷḷi* concept from *Tolkāppiyam* for distinguishing the short *e* and *o* from the long *e* and *o* and legitimizing it by interpolating *Cūttiram* No. 16 in *Tolkāppiyam, overlooking the fact* that *puḷḷi* in *Tolkāppiyam* was meant only to indicate the extra short sounds of consonants and other special phoneme-like (*eluttōraṉṉa*) sounds like *cārpeḷuttu* and *makarakkuṟukkam* whose time measure was *araiyaḷapu*. It was left to a foreign missionary Beschi in the 18th century to rectify this obvious anomally ; this indicates incidentally that even individuals are sometimes able to make such changes in scripts.

(ii) *The Phonemes* ட, ண and ற, ன : In the early decades of this century, foreign scholars like Firth who studied the Tamil alphabet made an erroneous description of these phonemes ; they classified ட, ண as *retroflex* on the analogy of the similar sounds in Sanskrit and ற, ன, as *alveolar* on the analogy of the similar sounds in English, t, n as in ' tin ' and this description has been since then accepted without question by scholars both in India and abroad. The essential characteristic of a retroflex sound is that the front end of the tongue should be raised and *curled back* to contact, with the *underside* of the curled end, the upper part of the mouth ; *Tolkāppiyar* describes this in his own inimitable way thus :

> . . . . when the tip of the tongue is raised and strikes the palate[4]

> . . . . when the tip of the tongue is raised and rubs the palate[5]

referring respectively to the palatal retroflex ற, ன, and ர, ழ. On the other hand, ட, ண is articulated by the front of the tongue being raised with a backward slant *without curling back* and contacting the front palate with the *upperside* of the tongue blade (*nuṉinā aṇṇam*). In my own speech I find that I am articulating the sounds as described in *Tolkāppiyam*.

(iii) *Arrangement of the Tamil alphabetic inventory:* T. P. Meenakshisundaran says :

> 'The arrangement of the letters in the Tamil alphabet system . . . shows that the Scripts were adapted from some other system. The letters common to that system and Tamil are first enumerated and thereafter letters for the pure Tamil sounds are added.'

There can be no two opinions on this point. The alphabetic inventory in current use enumerates the Tamil phonemes as follows :

க, ங, ச, ஞ, ட, ண, த, ந, ப, ம, ய, ர, ல, வ, ழ, ள, ற, ன (No. I)

In this inventory the last four phonemes ழ, ள, ற, ன do not occur in Sanskrit, while following the Sanskrit practice each stop (*Vallin̲am*) is immediately followed by the corresponding homorganic nasal (*Mellin̲am*). There is little doubt therefore that the Tamil alphabetic inventory in current use was adapted from Sanskrit. But when T. P. Meenakshisundaran goes further and says that :

> 'his (i.e. Tolkāppiyar's) alphabetic system was one adapted from a system used for some other language to which were added the unique Tamil sounds at the end'

it is difficult to agree with him. Apart from the fact that *Tolkāppiyar* has adopted an uniquely independent approach in dealing with the problems of Tamil grammar applying original techniques not to be found in Sanskrit, it is a strain on one's credulity to imagine that *Tolkāppiyar* was unequal to the simple task of devising an inventory of the Tamil alphabet based on his own excellent description of the Tamil phonemes and hence resorted to borrowing from Sanskrit. *Tolkāppiyar's* own inventory of consonants may be reconstructed from *Cūttirams* 20, 21 and 22 thus :

கசடதபற ஙஞணநமன யரலவழள (No. II)

Clinching evidence that Inventory No. I given earlier is *not* in accordance with *Tolkāppiyam* is provided by *Cūttiram* No. 1488 which reads :

ஞகாரமுதலா ளகாரவீற்றுப்
புள்ளியிறுதி யியைபெனப் படுமே

On the basis of Inventory No. I, this would mean that the phonemes

ஞடணதநபமயரலவழள

may occur as word finals, which is obviously absurd, as வல்லினமெய் cannot occur as word finals in Tamil. On the other hand on the basis of Inventory No. II, *Cūttiram* No. 1488 would refer only to—

ஞணநமன யரலவழள[6]

which is correct and agrees with *Cūttiram* 78 reading

> Only the eleven consonants *ñ*, *ṉ*, *n*, *m*, *ṉ*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ḻ*, *ḷ* can occur finally.[7]

Cūttiram No. 78 appears to have two readings, the one given above as appearing in the edition published by S. Rajam and the other with the text *ஞகாரமுதலா ணகாரவீற்று*—appearing in many other publications. The former reading is obviously correct as indicated above.

How then do we explain *Cūttiram* No. 1 which reads :

> Those which are termed the *eḻuttu* are said to be
> thirty in number
> beginning with a
> (and) ending with *ṉ*[8]

Sometime in the past a pro-Sanskrit scribe or writer wishing to rearrange the Tamil inventory on the model of Sanskrit placing (exactly as T. P. Meenakshisundaran has envisaged) the Sanskrit sounds first and then the sounds peculiar to Tamil, must have altered the original *Cūttiram* No. 1 by substituting ன for ள but, although he made consequential changes in many other concerned *Cūttirams*, he overlooked *Cūttiram* No. 1488 which now helps us to trace this tendentious meddling with the text by an unscrupulous editor.

(iv) *Articulatory description of the Tamil Phonemes :* T. P. Meenakshisundaran has rightly referred to the apparently irregular or in which the Tamil consonantal phonemes have been described in *Tolkāppiyam*. In a work which has come down to us through a long period of over 2000, years, when tendentious scribes and scholars had opportunities for meddling with texts, there is no need to be surprised that the texts have been rearranged but this is not of much consequence. Basically Tolkāppiyar's manner of description is in accord with the accepted concepts of modern linguistics, with one additional feature that he has made a clear distinction between non-retroflex sounds where the tongue does not deviate too far from its neutral flat position and the retroflex

sounds where the tongue is curled back; Tolkāppiyar's system has thus been perfectly organized according to the place of articulation as will be seen from the following Table:

TABLE OF TAMIL CONSONANTS

	Hard Consonants வல்லினம்	Soft Consonants மெல்லினம்	Medial Consonants இடையினம்
Non-retroflex sounds			
Pre-Palatal			ய (y)
Back palatal	க (k)	ங (ṅ)	
Mid palatal	ச (c)	ஞ (ñ)	
Front palatal	ட (ṭ)	ண (ṇ)	
Dental	த (t)	ந (n)	
Labio-dental			வ (v)
Bilabial	ப (p)	ம (m)	
Retroflex sounds			
Palatal (fully retroflex)	ற (r)	ன (ṉ)	ரழ (r, l)
Alveolar (semi-retroflex)			லள (l, ḷ)

This is in full conformity with *Cūttirams* 19 and 20 but differs from *cūttiram* 21 reading:

y, *r*, *l*, *v*, *l̲*, *ḷ* are called medial sounds.[9]

Here also, the sounds common to Sanskrit and Tamil ய, ர, ல, வ are entered first, followed by ழ, ள which are peculiar to Tamil. This *Cūttıram* was also obviously altered along with the other alterations above referred to; the original *Cūttiram* should therefore have read as

இடையெழுத்தென்ப யவரழலள

With this restoration to its original form, we realize how neat and perfect is Tolkāppiyar's alphabetic system. In this connection, the following remarks of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry appear to be apt:

> 'In dealing with written documents the historian has to protect himself by certain very necessary safeguards.
>
> *The First danger against which he has to protect himself is that of falling a victim to a deliberately falsified record.* You might think that deliberate falsifications are rare. I rather think that we are apt to underestimate the chances of deliberate falsifications.'[10]

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Tolkāppiyam :* Cūttiram 15, English rendering by Dr. Kamil Zvelebil.

[2] *Ibid.*, 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 94.

[5] *Ibid.*, 95.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1488.

[7] *Ibid.*, 78.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1.

[9] இடையெழுத்தென்ப யரலவழள (Tol. 21).

[10] Nilakanta Sastri, K. A. : *Historical Method in relation to problems of South Indian History*, University of Madras, 1941 : p. 48.

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3. Mr. George H. Axinn from the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, inc., representing activities of World Bank.

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Whate'er may be the nature of dust
Whate'er object eyed
Tis wisdom's part to see and grasp
Its core of Truth inside

—*Tirukkural* : 355

To discern the truth in everything
By whomsoever spoken, this is wisdom

—*Tirukkural* : 423

A System of Transliteration of Tamil

உயிரெழுத்துக்கள்—Vowels

குறில்—Short		நெடில்—Long	
அ	a	ஆ	ā
இ	i	ஈ	ī
உ	u	ஊ	ū
எ	e	ஏ	ē
ஒ	o	ஓ	ō

ஐ	ai
ஔ	au
ஃ	ḵ

மெய்யெழுத்துக்கள்—Consonants

வல்லினம்—Hard		மெல்லினம்—Soft		இடையினம்—Medium	
க்	k	ங்	ṅ	ய்	y
ச்	c	ஞ்	ñ	ர்	r
ட்	ṭ	ண்	ṇ	ல்	l
த்	t	ந்	n	வ்	v
ப்	p	ம்	m	ழ்	ḻ
ற்	ṟ	ன்	ṉ	ள்	ḷ

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